MEMOIRS OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

No. 63

The Historical Sculptures of the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ Temple, Kāñchī

BY
THE LATE DR. C. MINAKSHI, M.A., PH.D.

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PREFACE

OF all the ancient places in South India there is none that can rival the ancient Kanchi (modern Conjeeveram) in the variety, antiquity and importance of ancient monuments. Here are Jaina and Buddhist, Saiva and Vaishnava temples of the Pallava, Chola and later times, which it would be difficult to imagine in any other single place. The Vaikuṇṭhaperumal temple is one of the earliest and most important Vaishnava shrines in Kanchi. It was noticed and described by Mr. A. Rea in his "Pallava Architecture". Mr. Rea has given a number of plates to illustrate the panels (*vide* Plate LXV, figs. 1, 2 and 3 and Plates LXXXVIII to XCII), but in his description on page 44 he merely dismisses them with the following words "On the inner walls of the court is a continuous series of stone sculptured panels, representing scenes—evidently from one of the Puranas, but which, it is difficult to say. The general grouping of the whole, and style of the figures themselves, are very similar to those on the sculptured frescoes of "Arjuna's penance", and the other unfinished bas-relief near by, at Mamallapuram. The type of the figures seems very archaic, and some representations of temples resemble the "Bhima's", "Dharmarajah's" and other rathas at Mamallapuram. Through the action of the temple priests in refusing admittance, to even the outer precincts, to a non-Hindu, a description of the panels from the originals cannot be given; such information therefore, as may be required about these and other details of the interior, can only be had by a reference to the drawings". The present Memoir shows what an amount of trouble Dr. C. Minakshi must have faced in bringing out the true significance of these panels by intensive study. Her work shows an amount of critical knowledge of history and mythology which she has brought to bear on her task. The sculptures now stand self-revealed as unique illustrations of the Pallava history. The work, which was at first submitted as a thesis for the Ph.D. degree of the Madras University in 1936, is now being published as a Memoir of the Archæological Department.

K. N. DIKSHIT,

Director General of Archæology in India.

NEW DELHI,

2nd September, 1939.

It is with the greatest sorrow that I have to record that while this work was passing through the Press, the author Dr. C. Minakshi breathed her last on the 5th March 1940. She was an exceptionally brilliant scholar, easily the best among Indian lady archæologists and by her untimely death Indian archæology loses a singularly gifted votary.

18th March, 1940.

THE HISTORICAL SCULPTURES OF THE VAIKUṆṬHAPERUMĀḶ TEMPLE, KĀÑCHĪ.

Importance of the shrine.—The celebrated *Parameśvara-Viṇṇagar*[1] is of great archæological and historical interest. The shrine was evidently erected by Parameśvara[2] *alias* Nandivarman Pallava-malla whose head bowed down constantly at the feet of Mukunda.[3] Of the many Vishṇu temples where this Vaishṇavite Pallava king worshipped[4] the only one which can definitely claim this royal devotee for its builder is the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ temple at Kāñchī (Plates I and II), for it retains to this day all the characteristic architectural features of a Pallava monument which can without any difficulty be assigned to the eighth century A.D. There is also definite epigraphical evidence enabling us to assign its construction to this monarch. Two Pallava records are engraved on the walls of the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ temple; one of these is a document of great constitutional import;[5] the other[6] dated in the 17th regnal year of Dantivarma-Mahārāja, the successor of Nandivarman, registers the gift to the temple of a gold vessel which was endowed to the same god by the king Dantivarman. It is this inscription that mentions the name of the temple as *Parameśvara-Vishṇugṛiham* helping us to identify it with the *Parameśvara-Viṇṇagar* of the *Periya-Tirumoḻi.*[7] The sculptural representations of Vishṇu in his different aspects and incarnations on the walls and niches of the central shrine[8] (Pl. III,1) are as important to us as the scenes depicting the omnipotence of Śiva on the walls of the other great Pallava temple at Kāñchī, the Kailāsanātha. But historically the most valuable sculptures in the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ temple are the series of unique secular panels depicting the chief stages in the history of the Pallavas, and it is to these we shall direct our attention.

Location and condition of the sculptures.—Each of the four walls of the raised *verandah* running round the central shrine are adorned with two rows of sculptures. They are separated by a small band. This band was evidently meant to carry inscriptions explaining the sculptures above; this we may guess from the analogy of the sculptures on the southern wall representing the

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[1] *Vide* Note 1 appended at the end.

[2] Nandivarman was the *abhisheka-nāma* of the king, while his original name was Parameśvara, after which the shrine was named. *Cf.* "Pallava-mallan-āna Parameśvaran" in the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ inscription, p. 54 *infra*, C. 2.

[3] "May his pair of feet dwell on this (the king's) head which never knew of bowing down to others excepting to the pair of the worshipful feet of Mukunda (Vishṇu)". Taṇḍantōṭṭam plates—*S. I. I.*, Vol. II, part V, p. 530, verse 12.

[4] Pallavamalla is said to have worshipped Vishṇu residing in Ashṭabhuja at Kāñchī, Śrīraṅgam, Nandipuram and at Tiruvallikkēṇi.

[5] *Madras Ep. Report* No. 37 of 1888. Text and facsimile published in *South Indian Inscriptions* (*S. I. I.*), Vol. IV.

[6] *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 34. See Note 2 at the end.

[7] *Parameśvara-Viṇṇagar-Padigam—Periya-Tirumoḻi* by Tirumaṅgaimaṇṇaṇ.

[8] See Note 3 at the end.

events preceding the coronation of Nandivarman Pallava-malla. The sculptures are also divided vertically into several compartments, each depicting a particular occurrence. Unfortunately, the panels have been covered with thick layers of whitewash, with the result that in most of the sculptures the figures have been rendered featureless.

Epigraphical evidence.—It will not be a wrong assumption if we suppose that the original intention of the executors of the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ sculptures was to inscribe under each panel notes to explain the event depicted above and that for some unknown reasons the idea was abandoned; to-day we see explanatory inscriptions only under those sculptures representing the events leading to the coronation of Nandivarman Pallava-malla. However, the beginning of the first label on the southern wall has much to inform us about the preceding panels. It reads as follows: "*Ivvagayē Brahmaṉ-ādi-āga vārāniṉṟa Pallava-vaṁśattuḷ Paramēśvara Pōttaraiyar svarggasthar-āvadu*"[1]—that is to say, the death of Paramesvara Pōttaraiyar of the Pallava family which began first with Brahmā. This indicates with sufficient clearness that the immediately preceding sculptures relate to the rule of Paramesvaravarman II, the immediate predecessor of Nandivarman Pallava-malla and that the whole series beginning with Brahmā narrates the history of the Pallava family.

Earlier notices of the sculptures.—Mr. Alexander Rea who has published full and complete sketches of the panels in five plates in his *Pallava Architecture* has altogether missed their significance as may be seen from the following remarks made by him: "On the inner walls of the court is a continuous series of stone sculptured panels, representing scenes evidently from one of the Purāṇas, but which, it is difficult to say. The general grouping of the whole and style of the figures themselves are very similar to those on the sculptured frescoes of "Arjuna's Penance" and the other unfinished bas-relief near by at Māmallapuram. (See plates Nos. LXXXVIII to XCII). The type of the figures seems very archaic and some representations resemble the "Bhima's", "Dharmarāja's" and other *rathas* at Māmallapuram."[2]

Mr. Venkayya on the other hand thought that each sculpture denotes a particular event in contemporary history.[3] Dr. J. Dubreuil commenting[4] on Mr. Venkayya's suggestion, says "I think that the idea that these sculptures refer only to contemporary events of the time of Nandivarman is not quite correct. These sculptures have a general signification." His suggestion that the first few sculptures explain the origin and birth of Pallava is most convincing, but he has not established his statement by the interpretation of the rest of the sculptures but only surmises that they continue the history of the Pallavas.

Difficulties in describing the panels.—It is but natural to begin our examination of the figures with those on the west wall to the left side of the entrance, and proceed along the *verandah* from left to right in a *pradakshiṇā*.

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[1] *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, Text; p. 54 *infra*, A, 1.
[2] *Pallava Architecture*, p. 44.
[3] G. O. No. 492, 2nd July 1906, p. 61.
[4] *Pallava Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 70.

The initial difficulty here is to discover how the rows of sculptures are related, for it is not easy at first sight to grasp clearly the continuity of the events represented in these panels. We are not quite sure whether each wall or section thereof has to be treated as a whole, with the lower sculptures as a continuation of the upper ones therein, or whether the upper ones on all the walls around the court are to be read first before starting at the entrance again with the lower series.

Yet another difficulty noticed already is that only a few of the sculptures bear inscriptions and therefore, our interpretation of the rest will entirely depend upon our knowledge of the history of the Pallavas. We cannot then hope to understand the full significance of each and every one of the scenes. Some can easily be made out with sufficient exactness with the material at present accessible to us; of the remaining sculptures we can only suggest tentative explanations.

Description of the Panels.—Beginning with the upper row (Plate LXXXVIII in Alexander Rea's *Pallava Architecture*) on the west wall, *i.e*, wall No. 1 to the left side of the entrance, we notice that the first eight panels trace the origin of the Pallavas and the traditional genealogical order which is found in several of their copper-plates is strictly maintained in these sculptures. Taking an early contemporary record of the time of Pallava-malla, the Kaśākuḍi plates,[1] we find the following account: "Hail! Adoration to Śrī! First, from the lotus which rose from the navel of Vishṇu was born the Creator, whose origin is the (supreme) Brahman; who is self-existent; who fully knows the meaning of the sacred texts; (and) who is engaged in the creation of the whole world.

"From him was born at the sacrifice a son of the mind alone, Aṅgiras, who fully carried out his promises; who was more brilliant than fire; who, being sinless, put an end to sin; who, being the chief of the seers, obtained a place among the Seven Seers; who reached (th highest degree of) austerities that can be desired; (and) who was the best axe for cutting the tree of ignorance.

"From this Aṅgiras (came Bṛihaspati), who was an ocean of speeches (and) the father of Politics; whom (Indra), the lord of the Gods (and) elder brother of Tridhāman (Vishṇu), made his preceptor (*guru*); (and) relying on the power of whose intellect, the celestial women enjoy at ease amorous pleasures, without thinking of the rising and setting of the sun.

"From him was born the fortunate (and) modest Śaṁyu who destroyed sin (and) resembled the sun in brilliancy. When Fire had disappeared, (He) became the fire of the Gods and performed even the action of fire through his own power.

"His son was a sage called Bharadvāja, who became the founder of the race (*gotra*) of the glorious Pallavas by the power of (his) virtues, (and) who mastered the three Vedas, which resemble mountains, by (his) austerities.

[1] *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, part 3, pp. 354 and 355.

"From him came Droṇa, the preceptor of the Kurus, who was produced from the semen (of Bharadvāja) in a pitcher called *droṇā*; whose victorious banner was an altar painted on the skin of a black buck; (and) who completely mastered (the four branches of) the science of archery, which resemble the four oceans.

"From him came the sage Aśvatthāman, who was an incarnation of (Śiva) the enemy of Cupid; who deserved the confidence of the inhabitants of the world; (and) at the rising of whose anger, Kṛishṇa, Arjuna and Bhīma became terrified (and) threw down (their) weapons without any opposition."[1]

The Paṭṭattāḷmaṅgalam grant[2] dated in the 61st regnal year of Nandivarman Pallava-malla contains a less detailed but an identical account of the traditional ancestors of Pallava in the same order as in the Kaśākuḍi plates. The Vēlūrpāḷaiyam plates[3] of Nandivarman III only repeat the genealogy contained in these earlier grants, and in the light of these accounts we shall seek to describe the first eight panels one by one.

Wall No. 1—Upper row.

Panel I.—Vishṇu is seated in *sukhāsana* and *chāmara*-bearers are standing behind, while four attendant deities are seated below. He has four arms and wears an ornamental *mukuṭa*. He is easily identified as Vishṇu because he holds in his left hand a conch. The emblem in the right hand is badly erased, but we may easily infer that it must be a *chakra*.

Panel II.—In this is seated in *sukhāsana*, Brahmā who cannot be mistaken for anybody else, for he is always represented, as here, with three of his heads visible, the fourth being hidden behind. He is attended by *chāmara*-bearers and worshipped by devotees.

Panel III.—This is evidently Aṅgiras seated like Brahmā. The *chāmara*-bearers are standing behind and attendants are seen below.

Panel IV.—The son of Aṅgiras is Bṛihaspati who occupies this panel. He is seated in *sukhāsana* and *chāmara*-bearers and attendants are noticed, disposed in the same manner as in the preceding panel.

Panel V.—Here we see the son of Bṛihaspati, the modest Saṁyu, seated in *sukhāsana* with *chāmara*-bearers standing behind and attendants sitting at the feet—same as before.

Panel VI.—The founder of the *gotra* of the Pallavas, the sage Bharadvāja occupies this panel. He is seated in *sukhāsana* and the *chāmara*-bearers and devotees are also represented.

Panel VII.—While all the preceding members are depicted alone, Droṇa has his wife by his side. It is interesting that below, at the feet of Droṇa, is placed a pitcher evidently intended to express the idea that out of the pitcher was born Droṇa.

Panel VIII.—The son of Drōṇa was Drauṇi (Aśvatthāman), from whom took birth the celebrated 'Pallava'. Aśvatthāman is seated here like his predecessors attended by *chāmara*-bearers and others as usual.

[1] The translation is that of Hultzsch but slightly modified.
[2] *Epigraphia Indica* (*Ep. Ind.*), Vol. XVIII, p. 123.
[3] *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, part V, p. 510.

Wall No. 2—Upper row.

(West—North wall.)

Panel I.—No student of Pallava history will mistake this panel for anything other than the birth of the 'Pallava'. The Kaśākuḍi plates record the story of how Pallava was born[1] :—"The glorious Pallava (during whose rule) the earth was untouched (even) by the smallest calamity, was suddenly born to him (Aśvatthāman) on a litter of sprouts (*pallava*) by (the nymph) Menakā, that had been sent to him by Śakra (Indra), who was afraid of losing his position (on account of the sage's austerities)." The same tradition in a slightly modified form, is inscribed on an octagonal marble pillar which is now in the Madras Museum but whose original home was Dharaṇikoṭa near Amarāvati in the Guntur district. It is considered a late inscription[2] on palæographical grounds, though the king and the hero of the epigraph is an early Pallava king, Siṁhavarman. The following account is contained in the Amarāvati Pillar inscription :—"By the favour of Śambhu, there arose to him (Droṇa) a brilliant (son), famed by the name of Aśvatthāman, just as at morn the brilliant sun rises over the eastern mountain.

Once, surrounded by (other) celestial maidens, the famous nymph Madanī, who wished to see the abode of the hermits, entered the path of sight of that ascetic.

The saint approached her, while seated amongst a group of Aśoka trees, she was wistfully regarding the male swans which were afraid of being separated from their beloved ones, whenever they lost sight of them behind a lotus of the lake, which was agitated by the wind.

Perceiving him who resembled Cupid in the dress of a saint, she lost her self-control, just as Umā on seeing Śarva. Then the nymphs united the couple, which had conceived a deep affection (towards each other).

In due time, the nymph gave birth to a protector of the earth, which is girt by the ocean. The father called his son Pallava, as he was lying on a couch (covered) with a heap of sprouts (Pallava)".

The Rāyakoṭa copper-plate grant of Skandaśishya[3] must be considered, again on palæographical basis, as a later copy of a contemporary grant of King Skandaśishya, an early Pallava king. In this record, the fascinating story of the birth of Pallava undergoes another change, and the mother of the 'Pallava' is neither 'Madanī' nor 'Menakā' but a 'Nāgī'. Thus, only the Kaśākuḍi plates, the most authentic of the records so far mentioned, describe in detail the incident of the birth of 'Pallava' in a manner calculated to explain the name 'Pallava'. These plates are dated in the 22nd regnal year of Pallavamalla and therefore, belong to the eighth century A.D. The absence of the story in the early Prākrit and Sanskrit charters of the Pallavas may lead us to suppose that it was an invention of the composers of the charters of the time of Pallava-malla.

[1] *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, Part III, pp. 346 ff., Verse 17.
[2] *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, pp. 26-28.
[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, No. 8.

But there are not wanting indications to the contrary. Firstly, the relation between 'Aśvatthāman' and 'Pallava' was established long before the time of Pallava-malla by the time of the Kūram plates of Parameśvaravarman I; and secondly, the importance attached to the sprouts in the tradition of the birth of Pallava is suggested by several references in epigraphy. In the Tāḷaguṇḍa Pillar inscription[1] of the Kadamba king Kākusthavarman, we have the following lines :—"Then entering the king's service, he (Mayūraśarman) pleased them (the Pallava lords) by his acts of bravery in battles and obtained the honour of being crowned with a fillet, offered by the Pallavas with the sprouts (*pallava*) of their hands." The repeated phrases '*Pallavendra*', '*kara-pallavaiḥ*' and '*Pallavair-dhṛitam*' may surely be taken to be more than a passing play on words.

Moreover, *aṅkura*, a sprout, is synonymous with '*pallava*' and we find that a few surnames of the Pallava kings end in *aṅkura*. The son of Chārudevī (an early Pallava queen) was called Buddhyaṅkura. Mahendravarman I had the surname Lalitāṅkura and his great-grandson, Rājasiṁha, was known as Nayāṅkura (the sprout of polity) and Taruṇāṅkura (the young sprout). Thus we are led to conclude that the traditional account of the birth of 'Pallava' on a litter of sprouts must have been popular as early as the fourth century A.D., but that it was recorded in detail for the first time in a copper plate only in the time of Pallava-malla and as we shall see, the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ sculpture agrees well with the account contained in that grant.

To return to Panel I of this wall (Pl. III, 2), that Aśvatthāman is doing very austere penance is clear from his dress, his uplifted arms, his twisted *jaṭā*, from the fact that he supports himself only on one leg and from the ant-hill at his feet.[2] Menakā the enticer is depicted twice in this panel, first as the dancer in the act of winning over Aśvatthāman and secondly as the shy but happy mother of the baby Pallava standing by the side of the litter of sprouts. The conspicuous figure seated above in the left top corner may be Śakra watching the whole proceeding, but there is nothing to identify him as such. The other figures may be explained as attendants rejoicing over the birth of the child. It should be noticed that the artists have made the infant and his litter of sprouts occupy a good half of the panel with a view to impress the fact that they form the central feature of the story illustrated on the wall. This panel is ample proof to show that the later Pallava kings attached great importance to their traditional descent from Aśvatthāman and his son the 'Pallava'.

Panel II.—The prominent members in this panel are the two seated figures which appear to be a royal couple with *kirīṭas* on their heads. Three men are standing by their left, the foremost among them having his hands in *añjali* pose. I am unable to read the exact significance of this panel. (Pl. III, 4.)

Panel III.—This is a picture of a hunt. A man is represented in the act of blowing a trumpet as he is running. He is chasing two deer while a ferocious tiger is hiding himself in his den. To the extreme right are seen two men

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[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 35.

[2] *See* Note 4 at the end.

standing, while three others are also depicted witnessing the scene from their perches on a branch of a tree. (Pl. V, c.)

Verse 18[1] of the Kaśākuḍi plates contains the following remarks about the Pallava born of Aśvatthāman :—" Though born from a race of Brahmans, he possessed in the highest degree the valour of the Kshatriyas, which was inherent in him. Does not the thunder-bolt possess by nature the quality of burning, though it springs from the cloud ? " One suspects if the hunting scene in the forest portrayed in the above panel is intended to show the idea of the Kshatriya valour of the son Pallava. If this could be maintained, then the panel preceding the hunting scene probably represents the marriage of the Pallava with a lady of some distinction, so far an unknown incident.

Panel IV.—An attempt to explain this group of people may be ventured on. It appears to represent the ideas embodied in the following lines from the Kaśākuḍi plates[2] :—" *Tataḥ prabhṛity-akhaṇḍa-kala-bhuvana-maṇḍal=ātmasāt-karaṇ=ākhaṇḍita-vikramaparaḥ, paripālita-sakala-varṇāśrama-vyavasthā-viśeshaḥ prabha-vishṇur-Vishṇor-aṁś-āvatāra iva vaṁś-āvatāraḥ Pallavānān=nikhila-bhuvana-pāvanatayā Gaṅgāvatāra iva cha nirmalas=samavartata*" that is, " From him descended the powerful, spotless race of the Pallavas, which resembled a partial incarnation of Vishṇu, as it displayed unbroken courage in conquering the circle of the world with all its parts, (and) as it enforced the special rules of all castes and orders, and which resembled the descent of the Gaṅgā (on earth), as it purified the whole world ".

The two main ideas in this passage are : firstly, that the Pallava race resembled an incarnation of Vishṇu in the conquest of the world and secondly, that it purified the world (evidently by its good acts) just like the river Ganges. There is thus an allusion to the *Varāh=āvatāra* or the Boar Incarnation of Vishṇu represented in the sculpture by the presence of Vishṇu with a boar face and in the act of lifting up Bhūmidevī (the Goddess of Earth). The poses of these figures are entirely in agreement with the bas-reliefs of *Varāha avatāra* in the shrines at Māmallapuram. The other idea that the Pallava race resembled the descent of the Ganges is expressed by the artists by depicting a man, obviously Bhagīratha, performing penance just as in the *Gaṅgāvataraṇa*[3] scene on the rock at Māmallapuram. Resting on one foot, with the ant-hill at the feet,[4] his *jaṭā* and beard and his uplifted arms mark him out as one in severe penance. On either side of him is a man standing, the one to his right has his hands in *añjali*. There is also a worshipper at the feet of Bhagīratha. (Pls. XIV, 2 and IV, 1.)

Panel V.—In this we find a figure seated in *sukhāsana* with a high crown and attended by two men, while another man stands on the left with folded palms in adoration. (Pl. IV, 2.)

Panel VI.—Here is again a seated figure with a crown. A *chāmara*-bearer stands on the left, while another man sits on the floor with his hands in *añjali*.

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[1] *S. I. I.* Vol. II, part III, p. 355.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 347, lines 34-36.

[3] This sculpture was originally called 'Arjuna's penance'; but this name has since been altered into 'Bhagīratha's penance' or 'Gaṅgāvataraṇa' (*Archl. Memoir*, No. 33, page 44).

[4] *See* Note 4 at the end.

To the right of this group are two horsemen. Two elephants are also standing each carrying two men, one of them holds a bow in his left hand. I am not able to suggest an interpretation of this panel. (Plate IV, 3.)

Wall No. 1—Lower row.

Panel I.—This is a typical coronation scene just like that of Nandivarman Pallava-malla which we shall observe later. In the series of panels on these walls of the temple, we are able to witness not one or two coronations but several, and at the end of the descriptions of them, we shall be in a position to count the exact number of crowned kings who, according to the executors of the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ sculptures, ruled the Pallava kingdom before Pallava-malla.

This panel contains the first of these coronations. The king is seated on the throne with a crown on his head and a double breast band, a characteristic feature of all the kings in these coronation scenes. The Brahmans and the other officials of the State are surrounding the king and two men are pouring the *abhisheka* water on the head of the monarch. It is not easy to specify and name the first crowned Pallava king, for early Pallava genealogy is neither complete nor settled beyond dispute. Therefore, we have to be cautious in our identification of the first king of the dynasty. The earliest Pallava charter is the Mayiḍavōlu grant in Prākṛit and the donor is one Yuva-mahārāja Śivaskandavarman. Since he is styled Yuva-mahārāja and the grant is dated in the 10th year of the ruling king, we have to infer that there was already a crowned king on the throne of Kāñchī before Śivaskandavarman. Of this predecessor of Śivaskandavarman, we know practically nothing.

In the Hirehaḍagaḷḷi plates, Śivaskandavarman is called Mahārājādhirāja and the Bappa Svāmin mentioned in this record has been supposed by some scholars to be the first crowned king and the father of Śivaskandavarman. There is nothing in the grant to indicate that Mahārāja Bappa Svāmin was the father and the predecessor of Śivaskandavarman. Again, it is maintained[1] that Vīrakūrcha or Vīrakūrchavarman was the first crowned king of the Pallavas, because the Vēlūrpāḷaiyam plates say that Vīrakūrcha, simultaneously with the hand of the daughter of the chief of serpents, also grasped the complete insignia of royalty and became famous.[2] The exact place of Vīrakūrcha in Pallava genealogy is very uncertain and under these conditions, it is best not to commit ourselves to anything definite with regard to the identity of the first crowned Pallava king in this panel.

Panel II.—The following three panels obviously relate to the king whose coronation we saw in the last one. In this panel we see seven people of whom two are *chhatra*-bearers. The figure seated in a very unusual posture is probably the king with a *mukuṭa* on his head. Behind stands his *chhatra*-bearer; to his left are standing two men, one of them having his hands in *añjali*. We cannot say anything more about this panel.

[1] Dubreuil—*Pallavas*, p. 29.

[2] *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, part V, p. 510, verse 6.

Panel III.—The king is seated on the throne. Four of his officers are standing in a row to his left; the foremost appears to receive some orders from the king. Two small figures are depicted on the top behind the four men, while an attendant stands to the right of the king.

Panel IV.—This shows the actual preparation made by a royal officer for executing the command of the king. It is not possible to explain the attitude of the royal officer in any other manner than as one who is ready to obey the mandates of the monarch, perhaps placing the *Tirumugam* on his head. In front of the king is another officer seated on the back of an elephant. Between these two royal officers sits the queen on an *āsana* with an attendant to her right. Behind the king stands his attendant. At a distance from this group of people and by the side of a pillar are seated a man and a woman. It is not clear who they are and what they are doing.

Panel V.—Herein we have the second coronation very similar to the first already described. This and the following panels until we come to another coronation, describe the activities of another Pallava king of the line. If we suppose that the father of Śivaskandavarman of the Mayiḍavōlu and the Hire-haḍagaḷḷi plates was the first crowned king of the Pallava dynasty, then this panel will represent the *abhisheka* ceremony of Śivaskandavarman, but as we have already seen, the problem is not so readily solved as there is nothing very definite in this or in the succeeding panels to enable us to identify him definitely.

Panel VI.—The king is seated in state on a throne. Three persons who may be ministers are seen seated on the ground by the side of the king. The rest, perhaps State officials, are standing behind in a row with their hands in *añjali*. An attendant stands to the right of the king and a *chāmara*-bearer stands on the left.

Panel VII.—One quarter of the panel is occupied by the seated king on his throne with two *chāmara*-bearers standing behind;[1] the rest of the panel represents the marching of elephants and horses with riders on them. The *howdas* over the elephants are beautifully sculptured. The whole picture seems to indicate some warfare, for we see a man thrown on the ground from a horse and the men over the horses and elephants are extremely excited.

Panel VIII.—This affords some interest to us. Having sculptured only a single individual who occupies a humble position in the left corner, the rest of the panel is allowed to remain blank.[2] The existence of this blank space is not a mere accident but has something definite to tell us. I think it indicates confusion and difficulty in the Pallava kingdom causing danger to the kingship. The truth of this statement will be tested in the light of another blank space which follows later.[3]

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[1] The *chāmaras* in Rea's sketch are missing, while they are very distinct in the sculpture.

[2] A part of this blank space has been recently converted into a small niche for putting in one or two small images. The *bhattar* of the temple gave me this information and it is corroborated by the trustees of the temple.

[3] The latter blank space precedes the sculptures relating to the coronation of Pallava-malla. Since we know from the inscription of the temple that the Pallava kingdom underwent an anarchy before Pallava-malla's election to the throne, I think the blank space here explains the lamentable condition of the Pallava kingdom.

The only incident which could have shaken so badly the Pallava rule in its early stage was the invasion of Samudragupta. The defeat of Vishṇugopa of Kāñchī by the Gupta army and the terror inflicted in the hearts of the Southerners must have caused some obstruction to the continuity of Pallava rule in South India and the sculptors of Pallava-malla, who sought to portray the whole of Pallava history from the beginning, did not fail to mark this critical point. The marching of elephants and horses in the preceding panel and the coronation depicted in the succeeding panel strengthen our interpretation of the blank space. This raises the problem whether the second coronation observed above is that of Vishṇugopa of Kāñchī, the adversary of Samudragupta. The date of the Gupta invasion may be easily fixed as the first half of the fourth century A.D. and Vishṇugopa was undoubtedly one of the very early Pallava kings. Therefore, we shall not be altogether wrong if we identify the preceding coronation as that of Vishṇugopa since it is the second coronation in the series. The single figure in this panel is probably the defeated Vishṇugopa with a *mukuṭa* on his head and represented in a very downcast mood.

Wall No. 2—Lower row.

Panel I.—This is divided into two halves showing a double event, one succeeding the other. In the first half we find the third coronation similar in all its details to the preceding ones. The other half represents the marching at full speed of elephants and horses, perhaps indicating that they are expecting to be in a battle-field very soon. (Pl. III, 3.)

Panel II.—This appears to be a valuable picture for us. One half of the panel is assigned for the king who is seated on his throne with his *mahishī* to his right. Two *chāmara*-bearers are standing behind. In front of the king there stands a man[1] with his hands in *añjali* evidently relating something to the king. In the other half of the panel which is divided into two sections horizontally, we see the same king seated in front of what looks like a little shrine with the queen to his left. In the lower register stand two armed soldiers (foot-men) and a man seated on the ground, just attempting to gain control over an adorned horse which looks very ferocious. The horse is tied to the *yūpa*. (Pl. III, 5.)

The whole panel seems to represent the king, first as hearing reports of victory and then as one preparing himself for an *aśvamedha* sacrifice. The ferocious horse and the two *bhaṭas* in front suggest this. If this view is correct, the sacrifice must have taken place in the precincts of a temple, unless indeed what looks like a shrine is itself the *yāgaśālā*.

In the later records[2] the Pallavas in general are accredited with the performance of the *aśvamedha* sacrifice, but considered individually, two Pallava kings bore the title '*aśvamedha-yājin*'—the performer of the *aśvamedha* sacrifice—the special attribute of a king who has subdued all kings. Dharma-Mahārājādhirāja Śivaskandavarman of the Hirehaḍagaḷḷi copper-plates is called

[1] The head-dress of this officer of the king is very curious in the sketch of Rea. However, in the actual sculpture we see him wearing a beautiful turban.

[2] Chēndalūr plates of Kumāravishṇu.—*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, page 235, line 14.

a performer of *aśvamedha* and the Omgōḍu grant of the Pallava king Vijayaskandavarman, describes Kumāravishṇu as an *aśvamedha-yājin*.

The Vēlūrpāḷaiyam grant supplies the information that Kumāravishṇu captured the city of Kāñchī and was victorious in battles. If we are to maintain that the above capture or recapture of Kāñchī was necessitated by the invasion of the Gupta emperor, then we have reason to believe the third coronation, of the series to be that of Kumāravishṇu of the Omgōḍu grant and the expedition and the sacrifice in the two succeeding panels to belong to his reign. The act of Kumāravishṇu in securing Kāñchī for the Pallavas fits in all right with our view of the blank space going before his coronation.

Panel III.—A king and queen are seated on a throne with a *chāmara*-bearer standing behind. I doubt very much if this is again Kumāravishṇu, the *aśvamedha-yājin*. A few officers are also standing in front. Perhaps a minister of the king is seated in front of the king on a lower *āsana*. The significant feature of this panel is the coronation, which I think is not that of a king but of a Yuvarāja. The reasons for the assumption may be stated thus:—While each of the other coronations occupies a full panel, this particular one is assigned only a corner. Secondly, the individual concerned looks comparatively young and further, we have already noticed a king and queen seated on a throne on a higher pedestal and they are evidently witnessing the *abhisheka* ceremony. Therefore, we are led to presume that it is a coronation of a Yuvarāja and not that of a king. (Pl. V, d.)

Pallava history tells us that among the early kings, there was a Yuva-mahārāja Vishṇugopavarman who, according to Dr. Fleet, never reigned at all. With the material furnished by the Omgōḍu grant of Vijayaskandavarman, we suggested that the performer of the *aśvamedha* sacrifice may be Kumāravishṇu. If we are to think that the king and queen of this panel are Kumāravishṇu and his *mahishī*, then we may either have to give up our assumption that the Yuvarāja of this panel is Vishṇugopa or maintain the suggestion that the king and queen in this picture are not Kumāravishṇu and his queen but some others, for in the light of the Omgōḍu plates[1] of Siṁhavarman II, there are three generations separating Kumāravishṇu from Yuva-mahārāja Vishṇugopa.

Kumāravishṇu.
(The performer of *aśvamedha*.)
|
Skandavarman.
|
Vīravarman.
|
Skandavarman.
|
Yuva-mahārāja Vishṇugopa.

In spite of these difficulties we may still hold the view that the prince in the above panel is Vishṇugopa. In Panel VI in the same row, we have the coronation of a king whom we can with sufficient reason identify as Nandivarman I,

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, pp. 246-255.

the donor of the Udayēndiram grant. The genealogical order of succession of the early Pallavas as found in the Omgōḍu plates taken together with the Udayēndiram grant of Nandivarman I and the Māṅgaḍūr plates, mentioning Yuva-mahārāja Vishṇugopavarman, may be reconstructed as follows :—

- Kumāravishṇu.
  - Skandavarman.
    - Vīravarman.
      - Skandavarman.
        - Yuva-mahāraja Vishṇugopa.
          - Siṁhavarman II.
    - Siṁhavarman I.
      - Skandavarman.
        - Nandivarman I.

This reconstruction satisfies the order of succession of kings contained in six copper-plates of the Pallavas—the Uruvapalli, the Māṅgaḍūr, the Pikīra, the Udayēndiram and the two Omgōḍu grants.[1]

According to the Māṅgaḍūr plates, Yuva-mahārāja Vishṇugōpavarman was the son of Skandavarman and grandson of Vīravarman, and according to the Udayēndiram grant, Nandivarman I was the son of Skandavarman and grandson of Siṁhavarman. The Uruvapalli grant tells us that Vīravarman was the son of Skandavarman and the Māṅgaḍūr grant relates that the father of Siṁhavarman was again Skandavarman. Thus it is clear that Skandavarman had two sons Vīravarman and Siṁhavarman and that each of them named his son Skandavarman after the grandfather. This establishes the relationship of Yuva-mahārāja Vishṇugopavarman and Nandivarman I as cousins.

Since there are copper-plates of Yuvarāja Vishṇugopa dated in the regnal years of Siṁhavarman, we have to infer that Vishṇugopa, for some unknown reasons, renounced his rights to the throne in favour of others. It is just possible that before Siṁhavarman the kingdom was ruled for a short time by his uncle Nandivarman I. We have so far only one grant of Nandivarman I and that is dated in his first regnal year.[2] The Vēlūrpāḷaiyam plates introduce Nandivarman thus[3] :—" And after a host of kings including Vishṇugopa had passed away, was born Nandivarman." Vishṇugopa here may well be the Yuvarāja Vishṇugopavarman after whom came Nandivarman I.

We said that Kumāravishṇu, the *aśvamedha-yājin*, could not have witnessed the *abhishēka* ceremony of Yuva-mahārāja Vishṇugopavarman. Therefore, the king of this panel is probably the immediate predecessor of Yuva-mahārāja

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[1] The Chēndalūr plates do not conform to this order, but they have been a problem on any hypothesis.
[2] See Note 5 at the end.
[3] *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, Part V, page 510, Verse 9.

Vishṇugopavarman. According to our table, there are at least three kings who ruled between Kumāravishṇu and Nandivarman I and it is obvious that the coronation scenes of these three kings have been omitted.

Panel IV.—We are not quite certain if this and the succeeding panel relate to the activities of Yuva-mahārāja Vishṇugopa's contemporary Pallava king. The king, whoever he was, is seated on the throne. Two attendants are standing to his left and another is seated close to him on the ground also to the left. The rest of the panel is filled by riders on elephants and horses. (Pl. IV, 4.)

Panel V.—The king is seated with both his legs placed on the throne. There are two *chāmara*-bearers behind him on either side. An attendant is seated on the ground behind the throne. The noteworthy feature of this panel is a structure resembling very much a Buddhist *chaitya*. To the right of this *chaitya* are two men standing, below whom two more men are found, one standing and the other sitting. Below the *chaitya*, on the ground, are seated two men, perhaps worshippers. (Pl. IV, 5.)

If, as maintained by some, Buddhavarman of the Chēndalūr plates was one of the successors of Kumāravishṇu, it is just possible that when Vishṇugopa was installed as Yuvarāja, Buddhavarman was the actual ruler.[1] It has been held that the name Buddhavarman reveals the personal faith of the king. If this is correct, we may consider that the king in this panel may be Buddhavarman and that the *chaitya* in it is intended to reveal his faith.

Panel VI.—The object of this sculpture is to represent another coronation which we have said was probably that of Nandivarman I. Since a few succeeding panels appear to portray achievements ascribed to Nandivarman in the Vēlūrpāḷayam plates, we may suggest that the coronation preceding these panels is that of Nandivarman I, the cousin of Yuva-mahārāja Vishṇugopavarman. The coronation takes place with all the paraphernalia of kingship. The ministers of the realm are standing with due respect before the newly crowned king. Two venerable looking and bearded Brahmans are seated by the side of the throne and three officers are seated on the royal elephant. Guests of the occasion are watching the ceremony from the storey of a building. (Pl. IV, 6.)

Walls Nos. 3 and 4—Upper row.

Panel I[2].—We have nothing more in this panel than the marching of a few elephants and horses with riders on them.

Panel II.—The king whom we identify as Nandivarman, is on his throne. One of his officials is seated to his right on a small platform and another stands to his left. There are two *chāmara*-bearers behind.

Panel III.—In this we have a beautiful shrine with a dome-shaped *śikhara*. A worshipper on whose right arm hangs a basket filled with flowers is represented in the act of entering the shrine. His left arm is raised aloft as if in astonishment at the sight of the prominent devotee seated in front of the shrine.

[1] Gopalan's *Pallavas*—page 59.

[2] Rea's *Pallava Architecture*, Pl. XCI, Fig. 2, upper row.

The second individual who may be identified as Nandivarman himself is bereft of his crown, though there are two women *chāmara*-bearers standing behind.[1] The king is deeply engaged in meditation with his hands in *añjali*. From the Udayēndiram plates[2] we learn that Nandivarman was a very pious king devoted to Śiva. The seal of the Udayēndiram grant also contains a standing bull, once more attesting the faith of the monarch. The shrine in the panel was perhaps a Śiva temple built by Nandivarman I. (Pl. V, *b*.)

Wall No. 4.

Panel IV[3].—The king is on his throne. Two *chāmara*-bearers are behind him. An officer stands to the left of the king while the one to his right is obviously receiving some royal orders. (Pl. XIX, 1.)

Panel V.—This is a bold relief of the king depicting him in all his power and strength. He is seated on his throne and is instructing an officer standing before him. The usual *chāmara*-bearers are posted behind the king. (Pl. XIX, 2.)

Panel VI.—This panel represents three sets of pictures. On the right we have an imposing representation of Nandivarman I seated on his throne and attended on either side by *chāmara*-bearers. The left half of the panel is divided horizontally into two parts. In the upper section, on an *āsana* sit a couple. Their faces are slightly damaged. The man wears a *yajñopavīta*. Before this couple to the left of the man sits a Brahman priest identified by his *jaṭā*, beard and *yajñopavīta*. In the lower half of the panel is seated another Brahman on whose left stands a horse. (Pls. XVII, 1 and XIX, 3.) One wonders if the whole picture represents another preparation for an *aśvamedha* sacrifice. We have no direct evidence from copper-plates that Nandivarman I was the performer of an *aśvamedha* sacrifice. I am, therefore unable to venture a better interpretation to this panel.

Panel VII.—Under a *chhatra* we find the king seated on his throne. An officer is standing to the right of the king. Another man stands before the king and is in the act of reporting something.

Panel VIII.—The king sits alone on the throne, behind him are seen the *chāmara*-bearers. (Pl. VIII, 4.)

Panel IX.—The monarch occupies his throne as in the other panels but in this he holds in his left hand a long club. The purpose of introducing this is not clear. A man stands again before the king. Another official is seen to the left of the king. Two *chāmara*-bearers stand behind. (Pl. VIII, 5.)

Panel X.—This panel appears to have an interesting picture. Just before the seated king, we find the same man whom we saw in panels VII and IX, contending bravely with a fearful lion. Over the head of this fighter is sculptured a *chhatra*. Two men, one standing in the left upper corner and the other sitting in the corresponding right corner are witnessing the scene of the fight with the lion whose significance is not clear to me. Perhaps it shows one of the heroic acts of Nandivarman's successor Siṁhavarman who must have been a prince in the time of Nandivarman I. (Pl. VII, 3.)

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[1] The two women *chāmara*-bearers as well as the man with the flower basket are missing in Rea's sketch.
[2] *Indian Antiquary* (*Ind. Ant.*), Vol. VIII, p. 167.
[3] Rea: *Pallava Architecture*, Pl. XCI, Fig. 3, upper row

Panel XI.—The king is seated on the throne holding a sword in his right hand. Two men are standing to his left, one wearing a *makuṭa* on his head and the other without it. Two bearded Brahmans (identified by their *yajñopavīta*) are seated on the ground to the left side of the throne. (Pl. VII, 4.)

Panel XII.—We have the king again seated on his throne. This panel is slightly damaged. Behind the king, to the right, stands a man with his hands folded. On the floor sits another individual. Three dancers, two women and a man, are standing to the left of the king. The make-up of the hair of the male dancer is very artistic. The two women dancers are standing, one on either side of the man. This group of dancers has just finished entertaining the king and is watching a wrestling performance.

Panel XIII.—The king sits alone, while two *chāmara*-bearers are standing behind him. To the left of the throne, on the ground, sits a figure with hands in *añjali*.

Panel XIV[1].—The monarch sits in state with a *chāmara*-bearer to his right. Three Brahmans are seated on the right upper corner of the panel. Two women dancers are just getting out of the king's court. Their hair-dress is worthy of notice.

Panels XV, XVI and XVII.—These three panels together appear to explain a fact recorded in the Vēlūrpāḷaiyam plates about Nandivarman who, we have already said, was a devotee of Śiva. The line in the copper-plate runs as follows :—

" *Anugrahād=yēna Pinākapāṇeḥ praṇartitō Drishṭivishaḥ Phaṇīndraḥ* "[2]

that is : (Nandivarman)—" Who, with the favour of the god who carries the *pināka* in his hand (Śiva), caused to dance a powerful snake whose poison was in its eyes."[3] To express the sense in plain language, the Pallava monarch, after having propitiated Śiva, was able to defeat (*praṇartitaḥ*) the *Phaṇīndra*, who was evidently a Nāga king. Indeed, the adversary must have been a powerful one in order to cause Nandivarman to seek the favour of the god for a victory.

Panel XV.—Panel XV represents Nandivarman in the act of praying to the God *Pinākapāṇi* who is represented here with only two arms. But he has an ornamented *kirīṭa* which is different from the one noticed on the head of Nandivarman in the previous panels. That which marks out *Pinākapāṇi* is a

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[1] Rea : *Pallava Architecture*, Pl. XCI, Fig. 1, upper row.

[2] *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, Part V, p. 510, Verse 9.

[3] Mr. Krishna Śāstri says in the introduction " Then appeared a king named Nandivarman I who brought under his control a powerful snake, apparently called ' Drishṭivisha '," and adds in a note : " The influence of the Nāgas who, as already suggested, must have been the original rulers of Southern India, apparently down to the time of Nandivarman of about the 6th century A. D." If, according to our statements, Nandivarman was a predecessor of Siṁhavarman II whose date of accession, according to the *Lokavibhāga*, was about 436 A. D., then Nandivarman I should have ruled some time about the year 420 A. D.

[It is interesting to note that the Sinda chief Ādityavarman in his grant (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 164 ff.) calls himself *Drishṭivisha-phaṇīndra-vaṁśodbhavaḥ*. As we know from other inscriptions that the Sindas belonged to the Nāga lineage, the term *Drishṭivisha-phaṇīndra* seems to be synonymous with Nāga. It is possible that ' Drishṭivisha ' was the personal name of the Sinda ruler of Sindavāḍi of the Nāga-(phaṇīndra)-vaṁśa, who was a contemporary of Pallava Nandivarman I, and had suffered defeat at the hands of the latter. (See *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. XII, part 3.—Ed.]

small club which he holds in his right hand.[1] There are two *chāmara*-bearers standing behind and two more men are standing with their hands raised aloft. All these men are watching the seeker of the boon. Below, at Śiva's feet are seen two attendants. Under his *āsana*, beneath the boon-seeker, two small men stand and below we see a boar, the presence of which though by no means easy to explain, may be accounted for somewhat as follows. (Pl. VI, 1.)

We have already noticed the connection of the Pallavas with the heroes of the *Mahābhārata*. Comparisons of the Pallava monarchs with the Epic heroes, especially in their valour are found in epigraphy. For example, Rājasiṁha is called *Yuddhārjuna*—an Arjuna in battle—and *Pārthavikramaḥ*—a Pārtha (Arjuna) in valour. Therefore, we may consider that the sculptors of the above panel wanted to compare Nandivarman with Arjuna, *i.e.*, just as Arjuna, in order to defeat his enemy prayed to God Śiva for favouring him with the *Pāśupata*, so also, Nandivarman sought the favour of *Pinākapāṇi* to give him victory over his enemy, the *Phaṇīndra*.

It is impossible to represent all these ideas in one panel without confusing them with the main issue, and it may be that the sculptors have adopted the device of including only the boar which played an important part in Śiva-Kirāta's fight with Arjuna—a well-known story in the *Mahābhārata*.

Panel XVI.—In the next panel we have the actual fight between Nandivarman I and the Phaṇīndra. Nandivarman is represented here with a drawn bow attacking his enemy who is depicted as a human figure with a crown on his head sheltered by a five-hooded serpent. The force of *praṇartitaḥ* is very skilfully brought out in representing the adversary of Nandivarman I. The Phaṇīndra is depicted in the act of running though his face is turned towards his foe.[2] On the top of the panel are four men who appear to be excited over what is taking place in front of them. (Pl. VI, 2.)

Behind Nandivarman stands a short man with a turban round his head and to the left of the Phaṇīndra is also a man with a *kirīṭa*. The Phaṇīndra in this panel holds in his right hand a club which is conspicuous by its absence in the sketch of Mr. Rea.

Panel XVII.—Herein (Pl. VI, 3) we see the consequences of the quarrel between the Pallava and the Nāga. The latter looks a completely disappointed enemy, undoubtedly as a result of the victory resting on the side of the Pallava monarch. To the left side of the Phaṇīndra stands a *bhaṭa*, his right hand raised aloft while with the other he holds a club.

Four men are seen on the top of the panel behind the Nāga king. To his right stands a man[3] with a *kirīṭa* on his head, who holding the right hand of the lady by his side, leads her along. The lady appears to be shy. A *chhatra* is sculptured over her head. I cannot say who this couple are. If we are to suppose that the man with the *mukuṭa* is Nandivarman himself, then there arises

[1] We do not find the club in Śiva's hand in the picture contained in Rea's *Pallava Architecture*. '*Pināka*' means either 'a club' or 'a bow'.

[2] [He is literally shown as dancing.—Ed.]

[3] Rea's sketch has a lady, which is inaccurate.

the suspicion whether he married the daughter of the Nāga king just as Vīrakūrcha is said to have done on a former occasion. But there is nothing special to indicate that the lady whom the man or the king leads is a Nāga princess; therefore, we have to leave the question open, for the present.

Panel XVIII.—The king is found taking his seat not on the throne as usual, but on a piece of rock. Two men wearing *makuṭas* are standing in front of him; the foremost keeps his palms in *añjali* and receives royal orders. Behind the king stand a man and a woman, the former to the right of the king and the latter to the left.

Panel XIX.—This is much damaged; still we are able to see the king sitting at ease. Behind him stand two attendants and before him stands another individual. The head of the king is much damaged.

Panel XX.—This is a panel that throws some light on the aesthetics of the Pallava king who is seated on a raised *āsana* with an attendant standing behind. The riders on two elephants and a horse are evidently proceeding to fulfil some royal commission. To the right side on the top, we see a couple resting by the side of a pillar and watching something that is coming before them. Marching into the king's court from outside, is a troupe of nine people consisting of musicians and dancers. One dancer, perhaps the leader of the troupe has already entered the king's presence and is seated on the floor by the side of the entrance. The first member of the troupe is a drummer playing on his drum. He is followed by six men and two women dancers. It is interesting to learn from this panel that the Pallava monarchs patronised group dancing consisting of men and women.

Panel XXI.—The king is seated on a throne in a very peculiar posture; the queen takes her place by the king's right side and a *chāmara*-bearer is also seen to his right. Two attendants are standing behind the king towards his left, while an officer who stands in front of the monarch with his hands in *añjali* appears to receive some royal orders. The lady attendant of the queen is seen at the feet of her mistress.

Panel XXII.—The king sits on the throne but in a different posture. The usual *chāmara*-bearers are behind, also another attendant. A man stands in front of him, while another sits on the floor by the side of the throne.

Panel XXIII.—This probably depicts a single lady dancer entertaining the king in his court; however, we cannot be sure of this, for the bust of the dancer is much damaged.[1] In the upper right corner are five men standing in a row besides the *chāmara*-bearers and an attendant. In the lower right corner we see three more men all standing; the foremost of them has his hands folded in due respect to the king.

Panel XXIV.—There are three divisions in this panel showing three different actions. The first portion has the king seated on his throne and instructing an officer who stands before him. The *chāmara*-bearers are behind. The rest of the panel contains two divisions, the upper and the lower; the upper shows the

[1] The central portion of this panel is badly damaged. Therefore, the details given by Rea are verified with great difficulty.

swift marching of elephants and horses and the lower contains five standing men watching a figure fallen on the ground. If this fallen man with a *kirīṭa* on his head be the king himself, then we may consider that this section of the panel represents the end of the king in war, as the next panel depicts the coronation of the next king of the Pallava line.

We have already remarked that we know very little of Nandivarman I from Pallava epigraphy. The Udayēndiram and the Vēlūrpāḷaiyam plates together furnish two important points about him. Firstly, that he was a devotee of Śiva and secondly, that he defeated a Nāga king.

In the course of our description of these panels we have been able to locate scenes illustrating the two above facts mentioned about Nandivarman and on the basis of this we concluded that the adjacent panels also relate to his rule. Nandivarman's generosity and respect towards Brahmans evidenced by the Udayēndiram grant is also corroborated by panel XI, where we have two Brahmans seated at the feet of the king. The additional information which we gather from these panels about Nandivarman is of interest to us. In his court we have witnessed not only an animal fight, a wrestling performance and a few dancing performances; but we have also evidence of the king being busy with the public administration, hearing reports and issuing orders. Panel XXIV completes the activities of Nandivarman's rule and shows signs of a troubled time, since the horses and the elephants in the upper half of the panel seem to be engaged in an active conflict. This leads us to infer that the first part of Nandivarman's rule was free from any warfare and if, as I said, the upper half of panel XXIV depicts a war between Nandivarman's forces and those of his enemy, and if the man fallen on the ground in the lower half of the panel may be the king himself, it is just possible that Nandivarman I lost his life while fighting against his enemy.

Panel XXV.—This is divided into four parts, the first and the most conspicuous picture is the coronation which we may suppose is of Siṁhavarman II, the son of Yuva-mahārāja Vishṇugopavarman. Opposite to the king stands an officer with his hands in *añjali*. The rest of the panel is divided horizontally into two halves; the upper half has again two divisions separated by a vertical band. The first upper division has horses and elephants with men riding on them, while the second upper division contains two seated Brahmans. The lower division has a number of armed soldiers ready for attack. Perhaps the presence of these soldiers indicates that the rule of this monarch was full of warfare which had already begun in the last days of his predecessor's rule. Let us see if the succeeding panels agree with the historical information we have of Siṁhavarman from Pallava epigraphy. The Omgōḍu grant dated in his fourth regnal year is his earliest inscription. The Pikīra plates are dated in his 5th year, the Māṅgaḍūr in his 8th year and the Uruvapaḷḷi in his 11th year. If Vīravarman, the great grandfather of Simhavarman II, be the same as Vīrakūrchavarman, an identification generally accepted, then the great grandson (name lost) of Vīrakūrchavarman mentioned in the Darśi plates may be also

Siṁhavarman II, in which case the Darśi copper-plates will also belong to the reign of Siṁhavarman II.

Kumāravishṇu.
- Skandavarman.
  - Vīravarman. (Vīrakūrchavarman)
    - Skandavarman.
      - Yuva-mahārāja Vishṇugopavarman.
        - Siṁhavarman II.
  - Siṁhavarman.
    - Skandavarman.
      - Nandivarman I.

The above table shows the position of Vīravarman identified with Vīrakūrchavarman and his relation to his successors Nandivarman I and Siṁhavarman II.

We have to remember that all the grants of Siṁhavarman II were issued by the king from "camps of victory" (*vijaya-skandhāvārāt* and *vijaya-sthānāt*) which shows beyond doubt that Siṁhavarman fought several battles in the northern parts of the Pallava kingdom, *i.e.*, in and about the Nellore and Guntur Districts. Who exactly the enemies were, we cannot say; that, however, does not concern us now. But the scenes in the succeeding panels seem to show that Siṁhavarman's reign was one of constant warfare.

Walls Nos 3 and 4—Lower row.

Panel I.[1]—This is divided vertically into two sections. The first portion depicts the king and the queen seated on a throne. The ministers (two) are seated just behind the king on the left and are engaged in a conversation with the king.[2] The other division represents a fight between horses and elephants. The king and his minister perhaps seated on a raised seat at a distance, are witnessing the proceedings of the battle.

Panel II.[3]—This panel is again divided into two halves by a thin vertical band. The first part represents a terrible battlefield. To the extreme left we see the Pallava king seated on a raised platform, under a *chhatra*. He wears his usual crown, holds a sharp sword in his right hand and his military officer sits on his right. Both are watching the battlefield with great anxiety. To the extreme right we see the enemy king seated with his queen to his left. He wears a turban and has a pointed moustache. Between these two adversaries is represented the battlefield where we have two sets of cavalry and two sets of

1 Rea: *Pallava Architecture*, Pl. XCI, Fig. 2, lower row.

2 Rea's sketch of this panel is not very faithful. The queen is not depicted as she ought to be.

3 Rea: *Pallava Architecture*, Pl. XCI, Fig. 3, lower row.

elephants engaged in an intensive fight. The wing on the left belongs to the Pallava king Siṁhavarman and the one on the right to the enemy king. The men over the elephants on the right side are extremely excited as if cheering and shouting with both their hands raised aloft. Before the enemy king, kneels a soldier, perhaps giving reports of the fight. (Plate XIX, 4.) In the other half of the panel we have the Pallava king seated on an *āsana*, hearing reports of battle from a group of soldiers who have just arrived before him. By the king's left are standing three of his officers while two men (perhaps Brahmans) are seated on the floor. The details of the sculptures to the right of the seated king are slightly effaced. To the right of the effaced surface is a group of soldiers in different postures: some standing with folded hands, others holding their palms in *añjali*; yet a few are standing with sharp swords in their hands. One of these soldiers who evidently seems to be the victor is being carried by a woman. It is quite likely that he was wounded in the battle, and is being carried to the presence of the king in great pomp. (Pl. V, *a*.)

Panel III.—If the structure in this panel represents the Pallava king's camp, then we may state that this picture indicates an attack on the camp by the enemies' horses and elephants. We witness the Pallava footmen very vigourously attempting to defend the camp. (Pl. VIII, 6.)

Panel IV.—This panel has received slight damage. The king is seen seated and attended by a few men. We have a few elephants and horses marching along. (Plate VII, 5, *left*.)

Panel V.—We have the marching of more elephants and horses. (Pl. VII, 5, *right*.)

Panel VI.—This panel is much too damaged to receive a full description. The king sits on an *āsana* with a few men standing and others sitting before him. The rest of the panel appears to depict another battle.

Panel VII.[1]—This is a long panel with seven sections,[2] each divided by a thin vertical band. The first section has the king seated on a raised surface with his queen on his right, and an officer standing on his left. The next section has a number of horses and elephants marching and the Pallava king, seated perhaps at the threshold of his camp, obviously praying for victory. The succeeding section depicts the marching of elephants, horses and foot-men. In the next section we have the king who after finishing his prayers sits with his queen, an attendant standing behind. In the last three sections we have the army of elephants, horses and foot-men marching; the whole series eventually ends in a battlefield. (Pl. VI, 4.)

Panel VIII.—The king is in his camp and sits on what looks like a camp cot. There is also a camp table. Four men are standing behind him, three to his left and one to his right. Two Brahmans are seated on the floor to the left of the king between the cot and the table.[3] This panel ends the activities of the rule of Siṁhavarman II.

[1] Rea: *Pallava Architecture*, Pl. XCI, Fig. 1, lower row.

[2] The thin vertical bands dividing this panel into seven sections observed and maintained by Rea in his sketches are not very clearly visible on the wall owing to thick layers of white-wash.

[3] It is not possible now to verify the details of this panel as the repeated white-washes have effaced the surface very badly, but the camp table and the camp cot are visible.

Thus we see that Siṁhavarman's rule was one of continuous warfare. The complete absence of the *chāmara*-bearers behind the king endorses our view that the activities of this particular Pallava monarch were chiefly confined to his victorious camps pitched in the different parts of the Telugu district.

We have now to attempt to identify the king who succeeded Siṁhavarman II and whose coronation we witness in the next panel. The exact number of kings who ruled the Pallava kingdom between Siṁhavarman II and Siṁhavishṇu is very doubtful. Dr. Hultzsch in editing the Chēndalūr plates of Kumāravishṇu II, remarked that the four Pallava kings Skandavarman, Kumāravishṇu, Buddhavarman and Kumāravishṇu II—ruled in the interval between Siṁhavarman and Siṁhavishṇu.

According to Mr. Gopalan, two kings Vishṇugopavarman and Siṁhavarman III ruled the Pallava kingdom between Siṁhavarman II and Siṁhavishṇu. The Kaśākuḍi plates do not aid us here because they make no definite statement regarding the immediate predecessors of Siṁhavishṇu. It is not unlikely that Kumāravishṇu II, a cousin of Siṁhavarman II, succeeded the latter, since as we have suggested above, Buddhavarman was perhaps the ruler when Vishṇugopa, the father of Siṁhavarman was made the Yuva-mahārāja.

That Kumāravishṇu did rule the Pallava kingdom for some time is certain since we have a copper-plate grant, the Chēndalūr plates dated in the 2nd year of his 'reign of growing victory'. The grant is issued from the victorious Kāñchīpura. We saw that the whole of Siṁhavarman's reign was filled with battles and it is quite likely that as a result of these, the kingdom needed a strong man after the death of Siṁhavarman, and Kumāravishṇu, although a fairly old man, was probably the best qualified person. Thus, we may conclude that Kumāravishṇu succeeded Siṁhavarman II. The alphabet of the Chēndalūr plates which, according to Dr. Hultzsch, resembles the Pikīra, the Māṅgaḍūr and the Uruvappaḷḷi grants, further strengthens our assumption.

Since we have only a single grant of Kumāravishṇu dated in his 2nd regnal year and since he was a fairly old man when he ascended the Pallava throne after Siṁhavarman II, we may suppose that he ruled only for a short time. This is supported by the sculptures now under discussion. We have only two panels that may be ascribed to Kumāravishṇu.

Panel IX.—This is divided into two parts by a single vertical band. The first represents his coronation and the second the marching of elephants and horses.

Panel X.—This panel is again divided into two parts by a vertical band. In the first we see the king seated on a raised *āsana*. Two *chāmara*-bearers are standing behind. Another individual stands to the left of the king with his hands in *añjali* and a fourth man is seated on the floor at the left foot of the monarch. The other half of the panel contains the marching of foot-men and elephants.

Panel XI.—This represents another coronation evidently that of Kumāravishṇu's successor. Who exactly this king was is again a matter of uncertainty.

There is a definite statement in the Vēlūrpāḷaiyam plates that Siṁhavishṇu was born to one Siṁhavarman. With the date provided by the Jaina work *Lokavibhāga*,[1] we may approximately fix the rule of Siṁhavarman II between the years 436 and 460 A.D. The usual dates accepted for Siṁhavishṇu are between 575 and 600 A.D. Thus we see that Siṁhavishṇu could not have been the son of Siṁhavarman II, for the one is separated from the other by more than a hundred years.

The Penugoṇḍa plates[2] of Mādhava II mention in order Koṅkaṇivarman Dharma-mahādhirāja, his son Mādhava-Mahādhirāja I, his son Āryavarman who is said to have been "duly installed on the throne by Siṁhavarma-Mahārāja, the lord of the prosperous Pallava family", and his son Mādhava-Mahādhirāja, who was duly installed on the throne by the illustrious Pallava king Skandavarman. Dr. Fleet considered these plates as genuine as against others, and suggested that the contemporaneous Pallava kings, Siṁhavarma-Mahārāja and Skandavarman, were related as father and son.

According to the genealogical table constructed by Mr. Gopalan, we have two kings, Vishṇugopa and Siṁhavarman III, coming in between Siṁhavarman II and Siṁhavishṇu. If this is a correct calculation, then Siṁhavishṇu was the son of Siṁhavarman III and not of Siṁhavarman II, and consequently there must have reigned four kings between Siṁhavarman II and Siṁhavishṇu, for we cannot afford to omit Skandavarman of the Penugoṇḍa plates. There is nothing to prevent us from assuming that Siṁhavarman II had two sons, Skandavarman and Vishṇugopavarman, the first having been named after the great-grandfather and the second after the grandfather. These two sons must have ruled the Pallava kingdom one by one, and then the latter, Vishṇugopavarman, was succeeded by his son Siṁhavarman III. Now the sculptures that are being described appear to contain only one coronation between that of Siṁhavarman's successor Kumāravishṇu and the one which we ascribe to Siṁhavishṇu. For reasons of their own, the sculptors might not have included the coronations of Skandavarman and Vishṇugopavarman and have perhaps depicted the coronation of only Siṁhavarman III, the father of Siṁhavishṇu. Of this third Siṁhavarman the Vēlūrpāḷaiyam grant remarks :—"Then from the king named Siṁhavarman who wiped off the pride of (his) enemies, was born the victorious Siṁhavishṇu whose prowess was widely known on earth." We know nothing more about this Siṁhavarman and much less about his immediate predecessors Vishṇugopa and Skandavarman. Therefore, it is difficult to give definite interpretations to the sculptures preceding those which we ascribe to Siṁhavishṇu. However we shall describe them fully; but their interpretation must wait till more evidence turns up.

Panel XII.—We may suppose for the moment that the previous panel represents the coronation of Siṁhavarman III. This panel is divided into two halves by a thin horizontal band; the upper shows the marching of elephants and the lower the marching of foot-men.

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[1] *Mysore Arch Report*, 1909-10, para. 112.
[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, page 331 ff.

Panel XIII.—This represents nothing more than a fight between two sets of elephants. The one perhaps belongs to the Pallava king and the other to his enemy.

Panel XIV.—This is divided into three parts by thin vertical bands. In the first sits the king on his throne under a canopy. Three Brahmans are seated in the right upper corner on a raised platform. An officer sits on the floor to the left of the king, while an elephant stands behind the officer. The head-gear of the king is damaged. The next part shows a fight between two sets of elephants. The last part again represents the king seated. Below him on the floor sits an attendant.

Panel XV.—This is an interesting panel. We see a river flowing down. Camps are pitched on either bank of the river. On the right bank we see elephants with riders on them. On the left bank we also see elephants and footmen seated awaiting something.

Wall No. 5—Upper Row.

(East wall.)

Panel I[1].—Even this panel is much damaged, but we clearly see the marching of huge elephants with men on them and a few horses and foot-men.

Panel II.—This is a long panel divided horizontally into two halves. Let us first describe the upper half. On the top left corner we see a shrine distinctly in Pallava style; the *śikhara* is not visible being hidden by the foliated band on the top, but the *kūḍus* are clearly Pallava and so also the circular dome. We see a few worshippers in front of the temple. Opposite the temple, at a distance, we clearly witness the presence of the *dīpastambha* by the side of which stands a worshipper. But more interesting is the dancing party. The woman dancer is holding the hand of a male dancer. The drummer is playing on his instrument, while a few others are watching the performance. This picture reveals only, a common ancient custom in South India; that is, the close association of music and dancing with temple rituals. Between the temple and the dancing party we see an elephant's head—perhaps all that remains of the temple elephant depicted as standing in the precincts of the temple.

Coming to the lower half, we see a man seated on an *āsana*. It is perhaps the king, his *kirīṭa* being hidden away by the bottom of a pilaster. Two tiny attendants are standing behind him. Another man stands before the king with his palms in *añjali* as if making a request to the king for something.

To the left side of the king's *āsana* stands a third huge man with a number of smaller men by his side. To the left of this party of people we see two horse-riders while three others are walking in front of them. Behind what looks like a pillar, are hiding two or three men. Next to these we have a man cutting down a tree with a long sword, while another is actually depicted in the act of pulling down a branch that is being cut by the other. The significance of all this is very doubtful. The only suggestion that I can make regarding the cutting down of the tree is that it is perhaps a symbolic representation of the name

[1] Rea *Pallava Architecture*, Pl. XCII, Fig. 1, upper row.

Kāḍuveṭṭi, often applied to the Pallavas in Gaṅga inscriptions and in later Pallava epigraphy and Tamil literature.

Panel III.—This again is divided into two halves by a vertical line. The first half is subdivided into two sections horizontally. The upper one shows first an elephant rider and a man standing behind. Next, by the side of a pillar are seated a man with a *kirīṭa*, attended by two men standing behind. In the lower half we see the two horsemen, the same as those we saw in the last panel. They are attempting to enter the gateway of a mansion. At the gate of this mansion are two figures; one is seated and the other is standing with his hands in *añjali*. The other half of the panel depicts the king seated on a raised platform. Behind him a *chāmara*-bearer is standing to his left while an attendant stands to his right. A man standing in front on his left with his palms in *añjali* is obviously receiving some orders. (Pl. IX, 1.)

Panel IV.—This is as usual divided into two halves by a horizontal band; the upper shows three seated Brahmans, the lower having four men three of whom are standing. The foremost of them is bending down in a very peculiar posture. What he is intending to do is not clear. (Pl. IX, 2.)

Panel V.—This is an interesting panel which I consider contains the coronation of the famous Siṁhavishṇu. The reasons for the assumption may be stated as follows:—Pallava genealogy after Siṁhavishṇu until the time of Nandivarman Pallava-malla is more or less settled. We actually know the number of kings who succeeded Siṁhavishṇu and ruled the Pallava kingdom before Nandivarman Pallava-malla was elected to the throne. For very good reasons, to be given later, we cannot but ascribe the last coronation on this wall to Parameśvaravarman II, the predecessor of Pallava-malla. It will be seen that the number of coronations depicted on this wall is the same as the number of kings from Siṁhavishṇu to Parameśvaravarman II.

The panel under consideration is divided into two parts by a horizontal line. In the upper half we have first a man with a *kirīṭa* who is seated on the ground. Another man stands before him relating something. Next we have evidently a representation of the king's palace built with massive pillars. The distinguished guests are witnessing the coronation from the different balconies of the palace. The men on the elephants standing in front of the palace are rejoicing over the coronation of the king which must have taken place as it seems in the courtyard of the palace. The lower half depicts the actual coronation. To the right of the king are the Brahmans who are seated and the ministers and other officials who are standing behind the Brahmans. To the king's left side are the horsemen and foot soldiers representing the king's martial power. (Pls. IX, 3 and XII, 1.)

Panel VI.—Here we have the king and queen seated on the throne. A *chhatra* is depicted over the head of the queen. The king holds in his right hand raised aloft a club which is seen behind his crown. The sculptor has made the king appear huge in this panel perhaps to show the prominent place of Siṁhavishṇu in Pallava history. Beneath the throne sits a man. A beautiful shrine is sculptured in the panel and a number of devotees are shown standing by the side of the temple while a man with a staff stands in front of it. (Pl. XII, 2.)

Of Siṁhavishṇu the Udayēndiram plates,[1] a contemporary record says:—"In the race of Pallava, which flourished in an uninterrupted line of regular descent (was born) Siṁhavishṇu, a devout worshipper of Vishṇu." Perhaps the shrine sculptured here is a Vishṇu temple built by Siṁhavishṇu.

Panel VII.—This is a panel of some interest. We distinctly see here Siṁhavishṇu seated on his throne with a long staff in his right hand; attendants are standing behind and another man is seated at his feet with his hands in *añjali*. To the left of Siṁhavishṇu we see, on an elevated surface, the coronation of another king. The same balconies of the king's palace are sculptured here and men are witnessing the coronation from there. Below, we have horses and elephants just as we had them in the coronation of Siṁhavishṇu. (Pl. XI, 1.)

The Kaśākuḍi Plates definitely assert that the sixth ancestor of Nandivarman Pallava-malla, that is Bhīmavarman who was a younger brother of Siṁhavishṇu, ruled the Pallava kingdom for some time after the glorious Siṁhavishṇu. I do not think the Pallava sculptors would have omitted to utilise this valuable information from a contemporary charter especially when Bhīmavarman happened to be an ancestor of Nandivarman Pallava-malla, the builder of this temple. Of the other ancestors of Nandivarman, the charter does not say that they succeeded the Pallava throne one after another.

On the other hand it says that Mahendravarman and his successors came after Siṁhavishṇu. Now it is just possible that for some unknown reasons, Siṁhavishṇu after ruling the Pallava kingdom for some time, renounced the throne in favour of his younger brother Bhīmavarman. Thus we may suppose that this coronation is of Bhīmavarman and that Siṁhavishṇu is witnessing it.

Panel VIII.—This must be Bhīmavarman seated on his throne. A *chāmara*-bearer and two attendants are standing behind him. By the side of the king's foot-stool which is very artistically executed, sits a man. Another officer kneels before the king reporting some thing. Behind him stands another individual. (Pl. XI, 2.)

Panel IX[2].—This obviously represents the coronation of the great Mahendravarman I, the son of Siṁhavishṇu. The king is seated on a very highly elevated platform. To his right stand two Brahmans; to his left are elephants and horses. On the top right corner is a man walking along towards the king. Since the next panel depicts the coronation evidently of Mahendravarman's successor, it is a great surprise that the greatest monarch of the Pallava line is disposed of in a single panel. It must be that Mahendravarman's greatness was so well known that the sculptors thought it enough to represent only his coronation. Two points interest us in this panel. One is the vessel kept under the throne of Mahendravarman I, the significance of which I cannot understand, the other is the cave-temple in the upper right corner of the panel. Obviously the sculptors wanted to reveal the fact that Mahendravarman was the 'father of cave-temples' in South India. (Pl. XI, 3.)

Panel X.—The son and successor of Mahendravarman I was Narasiṁhavarman I and the coronation of this panel must be attributed to the latter. We know from Pallava history that his rule was marked by his battle with the Chālu-

[1] *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, part III, p. 370.
[2] Rea, *Pallava Architecture*, Pl. XCII, Fig. 2, upper row.

kyas and the Pallava raid on the Chālukyan capital, Vātāpi. The succeeding panel seems to lend support to the above facts. (Pl. X, 1.)

Panel XI.—This represents a battlefield. The Pallava horses and elephants are attacking those of the enemy, probably of the Chālukyan king. On the top of the panel we have a man with a *kirīṭa* on his head seated with a lady to his right; to the left of the man are two more seated figures. I cannot say if the man and the woman represent the Pallava king and queen.[1] (Pl. X, 2.)

Panel XII.—The king sits on his throne with the queen to his right. Two attendants are standing behind. Below is seated an officer relating something to the king who is very anxiously listening to what is being related. Placed before this individual who is seated on the floor, we see two vessels; one is a jar or a pitcher and the other is in the shape of a modern flower-pot. (Pl. XIII, 1.)

We may venture to suggest that the man who is giving reports to the king is perhaps Śiruttoṇḍar, the famous general of Narasiṁhavarman I. It is he perhaps that is relating the whole account of his raid on Vātāpi. The vessels may indicate the war trophies filled with precious stones.[2]

Panel XIII.—That the king sits in his court is evident from his throne, his foot-stool, and the attendants standing behind him. A man is seated on the floor at the feet of the king. To the left of the king we witness a few interesting things. First, a five-hooded serpent[3] by the side of which stands an elephant. Below these, we have two horsemen; one is in the act of attacking the other and below them we see two armed *mallas* and three men stand surrounding them. The two *mallas* with their shields and swords are attacking each other. The scene cannot represent a battle for it is the king's court that we see here. (Pl. XIII, 2.)

It may be that Narasiṁhavarman I liked to witness contests among *mallas* and horsemen, in which case this panel will also explain the name *Mahā-malla* which the Bādāmi stone inscription[4] attributes to Narasiṁhavarman, the conqueror of Bādāmi or Vātāpi.

Panel XIV.—The king is seated on his throne. Behind him stand two *chāmara*-bearers; besides, there are three others who are seated in the right upper corner. In front of the throne is placed a cup-shaped vessel. To the left of the king three men are standing in a row, the foremost having his hands in *añjali* and is in the act of securing the favour of the king. One wonders if this could be Mānavamma, the exiled king of Ceylon, seeking the help of Narasiṁhavarman I, but there is nothing to confirm this surmise. (Pl. VII, 1, *left.*)

Panel XV.—This panel really includes three pictures. The first shows the Pallava king seated on an *āsana*; attendants are standing behind and two men are seated on the floor at the king's feet. The next picture consists of a man and a woman. The latter is seated to the right of the former. By the side of the man stands an attendant. It is interesting to notice a sort of tail behind the woman. Below this couple we see represented a battlefield. Elephants and

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[1] Father Heras is of opinion that Narasiṁhavarman himself led the expedition against Vātāpi and that General Śiruttoṇḍar was at the immediate command of the army. *Studies in Pallava History*, p. 38.

[2] *Periyapurāṇam*, p. 45 *et seq.* (Madras Ed. 1923.)

[3] The five-hooded serpent is not distinctly visible in the actual sculpture, though we see traces of its hoods.

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 99.

horses are seen fighting. Perhaps this shows the fight between the Pallava army and that of the Ceylonese king—the usurper who had driven away Mānavamma, the friend of Narasiṁhavarman I. If this is right, then the picture may be taken to represent the presence of Pallava king on one side and that of Mānavamma seated with his wife on the other, both conducting the war against the king of Ceylon. (Pl. VII, 1, *right.*)

The Mahāvaṁsa describes[1] in detail the various activities of Mānavamma and his services to Narasiṁhavarman I. It clearly states that the king of Ceylon sought the help of the Pallava king twice. On the second occasion Narasiṁhavarman I himself is said to have conducted the army, crossed the sea and after defeating the wicked king of Ceylon, installed firmly on the throne Mānavamma, his friend and ally.

Panels XIV, XV and XVI, I think, seek to depict these facts, the first showing Mānavamma's return from Ceylon to secure the help of the Pallava king. Perhaps the vessel contains the presents (pearls and precious stones) which Mānavamma brought for the Pallava king; the second represents the battle between the Pallava force and the Ceylonese army, and the third, which we shall describe now, contains the picture of the Pallava king, re-installing Mānavamma on the throne of Ceylon.

The Kaśākuḍi plates,[2] a contemporary record, again very aptly compare Narasiṁhavarman I to śrī-Rāma, thereby implying the victorious progress of the Pallava king in Ceylon. It says:—" From him (Mahendravarman I) was born the victorious hero Narasiṁhavarman, who surpassed the glory of the valour of Rāma by (his) conquest of Laṅkā."—that is to say: Just as Rāma crossed the sea, went to Laṅkā, defeated the wicked Rāvaṇa and installed on the throne the good Vibhīshaṇa, so also Narasiṁhavarman I crossed the sea, landed in Laṅkā, defeated the usurper and installed on the throne the rightful Mahārāja Mānavamma.

Panel XVI.—This represents the Pallava king sitting on the throne affectionately holding his friend Mānavamma seated to his left. To the left of Mānavamma stands an old man with a *jaṭā* and a long beard; by his side sits another individual. Behind stand four attendants and below the throne sit the officials of the State.

The above panel closes the rule of Narasiṁhavarman I, and we come to the coronation of his successor in the next panel.

Panel XVII.—After the death of Narasiṁhavarman I *Mahā-malla*, his son Mahendravarman II succeeded to the throne. We have neither copper-plates nor stone inscriptions of this Mahendravarman except a few references to him found in the grants of his successors.

The Kūram grant[3] of his successor Parameśvaravarman I says that Mahendravarman " thoroughly enforced the sacred law of the castes and orders " and the Kaśākuḍi plates glorify his benevolent charities towards temples and his

[1] Turnour's translation. *The Mahāvaṃsa*, Ch. 47.
[2] *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, part III, p. 356, v. 22.
[3] *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, p. 152, l. 17.

extreme devotion to Brahmans. This pious-minded patron of Brahmans seems to have ruled only for a short time. This may be due to more than one cause. We must know that Narasiṁhavarman I ruled for a long time and when the Pallava throne came to his successor, the latter, *i.e.*, Mahendravarman II, must have been a fairly old man. Secondly, being pious-minded himself, he did not perhaps care to continue as king very long, and might have renounced the throne in favour of his young and enterprising son Parameśvara. That Mahendravarman II ruled only for a short time is not only corroborated by the complete absence of any inscriptions dated in his reign, but also by the next panel where we have the old king witnessing the coronation of his young son.

In this panel we witness the coronation of Mahendravarman II. Two royal elephants are depicted on the right upper corner. The corresponding lower half of the sculpture is effaced.

Panel XVIII.—The king sits on his throne with three attendants standing behind and one sitting below. In front of the king stands a man with a conical head-dress and another individual is standing behind him.

Panel XIX.—This panel is divided into two halves. In the upper register we have the old king who sits on his throne. The crown on his head is missing, perhaps indicating that he had renounced his kingship. Four attendants are standing behind him, the foremost having his hands in *añjali*. In the lower register is represented the coronation of the young son, to whose right we see two officers, seated, the one in front folding his hands in *añjali*. (Pl. XII, 4.)

Panel XX.—Parameśvaravarman I sits on his throne and looks a full-blown king, attended by two Brahmans seated on the floor. The foremost holds his hands in *añjali*. (Pl. XII, 5.)

With the accession of Parameśvaravarman I we seem to find ourselves in stirring times. Dr. N. Venkataramanayya in his able paper[1] on "Parameśvaravarman I" has collected together all the facts scattered in Pallava and Chālukya epigraphy regarding the military activities of this king. He has demonstrated conclusively that Vikramāditya I, the Chālukyan king and the contemporary of Parameśvaravarman I, invaded the Pallava kingdom soon after Parameśvaravarman I ascended the throne and that Parameśvaravarman I led a counter-invasion into the Chālukyan kingdom. He describes thus the events leading to the battle of Peruvaḷanallūr and to the Pallava invasion into the Chālukyan territory: "Parameśvaravarman I, who succeeded him (Mahendra II), found himself in the midst of troubles. The enemies of his family were already masters of a good part of his kingdom. His capital city had also fallen into their hands. His army was defeated and discouraged. His enemy Vikramāditya I, a veteran soldier and an able commander, was at Trichinopoly at the head of a large army. The prospect was gloomy enough to chill the bravest heart. Parameśvara I, however, rose equal to the occasion. He collected his beaten and dısspirited troops and led them personally against the enemy. The contending armies met at Peruvaḷanallūr. A fierce fight ensued. We have a graphic account of this battle in the Kūram plates. It resulted in the complete

[1] *Madras Christian College Magazine*, Vol. VII, 1927, No. 4, pp. 236 *et seq.*

defeat of the Chālukyan army; and Vikramāditya I was forced to evacuate the Pallava territory immediately.

"Parameśvara I appears to have pursued his vanquished foe to the gates of his capital city. All the provinces of the enemy's kingdom, taking advantage of the presence of the Pallava army, seem to have rebelled against their king."

The foregoing account prepares us to find in these panels representations of the battle of Peruvaḷanallūr and the invasion of the Pallava king into the Chālukyan kingdom.

Panel XXI.—This is divided into two sections by a vertical band.[1] The first section represents a fight between foot-men, and the next section shows a fight between horses and elephants. Men are anxiously witnessing the battle from the top but the interesting portion of the picture is a man kneeling before a seated figure. This is depicted in the upper section of the first half of the panel. It may indicate the defeat of the Chālukyan foe. It is possible that it represents the Chālukyan Vikramāditya I kneeling before the Pallava king. Three men with folded hands are standing behind the person who kneels. It is, I am inclined to think, a panel the whole of which depicts the battle of Peruvaḷanallūr[2] and the defeat of the enemy by the Pallava force. A single elephant which is given distinguished place in the first half of the panel that is being separated from the main scene may be the war-elephant of Parameśvaravarman which was called 'Arivāraṇa' and which played an important part in the battle of Peruvaḷanallūr.

We saw that Parameśvaravarman I, encouraged by his victory over Vikramāditya, led an invasion into the Chālukyan capital; the succeeding panels seem to support this view.

Wall No. 5—Lower Row.

East Wall.

Panel I[3].—We see the victor Parameśvaravarman standing with his queen to his right. He holds her right hand and is leading her. Behind him marches his army of elephants and horses. A man is standing before the king and queen; another kneels at their feet.

Panel II.—This is divided into two sections by a vertical band. The second section shows the king and queen proceeding along their way, while in the first section we see the army of foot-men, elephants and horses following. Before the king and queen kneels an individual and behind him are depicted two men standing.

We must remember that Parameśvaravarman I had to go a long distance from his capital Kāñchī in order to reach the Chālukyan capital Vātāpi, and on his way he must have encamped in many places. Possibly several local rulers, once subjects of the Chālukyas, now joined him on the way to Vātāpi when his success seemed assured.

Panel III.—In this panel we see the king seated on an *āsana*. To his right is posted his army. To the king's left stands a man. Below the

[1] The vertical band is made thicker in Rea's sketch. In the actual sculpture, it is only a thin band. Therefore, it looks as if it is a separate panel.

[2] A full description of this battle is given in the Kūram grant. *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, p. 153.

[3] Rea, *Pallava Architecture*, Pl. XCII, Fig. 1, lower row.

king's *āsana* three small men are depicted. Perhaps this picture represents the first of the king's encampments.

Panel IV.—This is again divided into two parts by a vertical band. The first part represents a number of men following the king and queen who are pursuing their journey. The men with *kirīṭas* are perhaps the feudatory chiefs who have now joined the Pallava army. The next part which depicts the king and queen marching contains also a few more members. A Brahman with folded hands stands behind the queen. To the left of the king stands another man, while an individual sits at the feet of the king with his hands in *añjali* apparently preferring some request.

Panel V.—This panel represents a party of men with elephants and music proceeding towards the Pallava king and queen to welcome them. We see the drummer playing on his instrument. The next picture in this panel evidently shows the Pallava king seated on a throne. The man, perhaps a feudatory chief, who is seated to the left of the king on a different *āsana*, might well be the host. Two attendants are standing behind the throne and a few more men are seated by the side of the throne. The other half of the panel shows the swift marching of soldiers with long swords and bows, indicating that the Pallava king has again resumed his march towards the Chālukyan kingdom. The first part of the panel possibly represents his second halt on his way.

Panel VI.—This, I think, marks the third halting place of the king and his army. The king and queen are seated on an *āsana*. A *chhatra* is depicted to the left side of the king. A man sits at the feet of the king while another individual stands before him with folded hands and anxiously reporting something. The army of elephants and foot-men is standing in front as if waiting for a signal to start.

Panel VII.—This panel is interesting because it shows the meeting of the Pallava army with the forces of the adversary, the Chālukyan king Vikramāditya I. The two sets of horses and elephants are in the act of attacking each other. (Pl. XII, 3.)

Panel VIII.—This panel taken along with the last one represents the actual fight between the Pallava and the Chālukyan elephants, the former trying to push through the latter forces. (Pl. XII, 3.)

Panel IX.—This again depicts the Pallava horses and elephants marching along in the attempt at reaching the capital city Vātāpi.

Panel X.—This looks as if the king having encamped in a place near the Chālukyan capital, is in the act of giving instructions to his whole army before the actual attack was attempted. We have the elephants and foot-men here arranged in rows. The queen is also seated by the side of the king.

Panel XI[1].—This evidently shows the capture and the destruction of the Chālukyan capital and the confusion that followed as a consequence. A number of men are depicted here with uplifted hands lamenting the disaster that has fallen upon their kingdom.

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[1] Rea, *Pallava Architecture*, Pl. XCII, Fig. 2, lower row.

Panel XII.—Here sit the Pallava king and queen, the victor and his *mahishī*, before the gates of the Chālukyan palace. The two men seated below the mansion are perhaps the gate-keepers of the Chālukyan palace.[1] (Pl. XIII, 3.)

Panel XIII.—This panel is divided into four sections[2] by two bands, a horizontal and a vertical one. In the first upper section sit the king and queen, the *chāmara*-bearer standing to the left of the king. Below the king's seat two *bhaṭas* are sitting and are engaged in a conversation. One of them holds a sword in his left hand. In the upper right corner are sculptured two beautiful elephants facing each other with riders seated over them. This perhaps means that the Pallava-Chālukya wars were not at an end. In the lower right corner four *bhaṭas* are seen marching abreast with swords in their hands. This ends the activities of the reign of Parameśvaravarman I, for we see in the next panel the coronation of his successor. (Pl. XIII, 4.)

Panel XIV.—The son and successor of Parameśvaravarman was Narasiṁhavarman II, surnamed Rājasiṁha. Pallava history tells us that he was a great Śaiva devotee, who constantly wore on his head Śiva as his crest-jewel. '*Śivachūḍāmaṇi*' was a surname of Rājasiṁha. He is best remembered as the builder of the great Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñchī. Though his surnames pronounce him to be an excellent warrior, his rule is generally believed to have been free from foreign invasions.

The present panel first represents his coronation. (Pl. X, 3.) He looks a very handsome king, and it is no surprise that he is described in the Kailāsanātha inscriptions as " he who possesses the grace of Cupid " and as " one whose beauty is unrivalled." It appears as if Rājasiṁha was married immediately after his coronation, for soon after this scene we see him standing with his *mahishī*, perhaps the famous Raṅgapatākā.[3] (Pl. X, 4.) The king holds the right hand of his queen and is leading her. Their facial expressions, their dress and their poses bear striking resemblance to the royal portraits of a king and queen depicted on the monolith, the so-called Arjuna's Ratha at Māmallapuram.[4] Therefore, we may tentatively conclude that the king and queen depicted here in this panel are the same as on the monolith at the Pallava sea-port. The military commanders and chief officials of the realm are paying their respects to the newly crowned sovereign.

Panel XV.—The sketch of Rea of this panel is far from being a faithful copy. This picture shows in fact a continued attack of horsemen and elephants from the left and foot-soldiers from the right on a fortress standing at a height. The fight as seen in the picture is very severe. To the right of this, the king sits on an *āsana* and under a *chhatra*. To his left are sitting two men; one on an *āsana* and the other on the floor. We cannot fail to notice in this panel the armed soldiers and horsemen vigorously engaged in a conflict on one side, of the panel and the king sitting with an anxious and grave look in the other half. We have said that Rājasiṁha's rule is generally accepted as one free from

[1] One of the men in Rea's sketch has his hands in *añjali*, but in the actual sculpture both the men sit erect with disappointed looks.

[2] The four sections are not clearly maintained in the sketches of Rea.

[3] *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, p. 23, No. 29.

[4] I am inclined to consider the royal portrait to be Narasimhavarman II and his queen, though Gangoly seems to think otherwise.

warfare, but it is possible that he met with troubles towards the end of his rule, either from the side of the Chālukyas or from some other enemy.[1] (Pl. VII, 2.)

Panel XVI.—In this the king is seated on his throne. An individual with a *kirīṭa* on his head stands on his left and is touching the king's shoulder in the act of consoling the king who looks very worried. Another man stands to the right of the king with his hands in *añjali*. Two more men are seen to the right of the throne ; the one on the top has his hands in *añjali* and the one below is standing. Next comes a building constructed on high plinths and covered with a roof bearing close resemblance to the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñchī.[2] Below this temple are depicted two men seated on the floor.

Panel XVII.—This represents the same king seated on his throne. This portion of the panel is slightly damaged. A small man stands to the left of the king in the act of reporting some important news. To the left of this man, we seem to find the picture of a soldier (dressed), his head being damaged as well as his hands. He is depicted as if he is about to fall down.[3] Perhaps he is a wounded soldier who was one of the men defending the fortress represented in panel XV. Two tiny attendants are standing by the side of the throne. The two men whom we saw by the side of the king in panel XV are again standing here, the one with his arms folded and the other anxiously watching something. Before them stand two men wearing turban-like head-dresses, the foremost reporting something. Behind these are two elephants with riders on them.

Panel XVIII.—The king and queen are seated on the throne. The queen's figure is very much damaged and so also the bust of the king, whose head is also missing in the actual panel, though Rea's sketch includes it. Two Brahmans are seated on the floor below the king's seat, as if they are praying for the welfare of the king. In the top right corner to the left of the king are two men, one facing the other, in the act of carrying a man in a cloth hammock to the presence of the king. This also seems to be a wounded chief. The carriers are feeling the weight of the man who is being carried. We have also a number of men who are distinctly shown as if excited over something, very likely over the presence of the wounded chief. (Pl. XII, 6.)

Panel XIX.—This depicts the coronation of Parameśvaravarman II, the predecessor of Nandivarman Pallava-malla. (Pl. XII, 7.) We are sure that this is Parameśvaravarman II because the label under the next panel specifically asserts that after the death of Parameśvara Pōttaraiyar, Nandivarman was elected to the Pallava throne. Besides, we have further proof of this in the blank space which occupies this wall next to the coronation scene of Parameśvara and preceding the panels that relate to the accession of Nandivarman. We learn that the Pallava kingdom experienced total anarchy after the death of Parameśvara and nothing could represent this condition better than a blank space, which we see following immediately after the coronation scene of Parameśvara. We have already drawn

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[1] See Note 6 at the end.

[2] The details of ornamentation on the roof and the different sections therein are not faithfully carried out in the sketch given by Mr. Rea.

[3] The white-wash is so thick on this panel that only faint traces of the wounded soldier are visible at present.

attention to another instance of the employment of this device to represent the confusion consequent on the inroad of Samudragupta into Pallava territory.

The reign of this sovereign (Parameśvaravarman II) was very short-lived. We have only a single stone inscription of his from Tiruvadi,[1] dated in his third regnal year and recording a gift of gold. The Kaśākuḍi plates say of him :— "He who controlled the (evil) manifestations of the Kali (age) ; who led the way of policy which had been prescribed by Dhishaṇa (Bṛihaspati) ; and who protected the world ".[2] He is described in the Velūrpāḷayam plates as the chastiser of the Kali and as one who governed according to the laws of Manu.[3] We know nothing more of Parameśvara.

In panel XIX we have first the coronation of Parameśvaravarman II. To his left stands an officer with folded hands. We have a few *bhaṭas* excited over the coronation, and some elephants are also represented here. At the extreme right side of this panel, we see Parameśvara again seated on his throne with an attendant standing behind. He looks very grave and serious. This is all that we have of the predecessor of Nandivarman. We are next to imagine his death and the serious condition of the Pallava kingdom after his death by the blank space that follows.

Walls Nos. 6 and 7—Upper row.

(South Wall.)

It is this wall that contains the labelled panels of the reign of Pallava-malla. That the election of Pallava-malla to the throne was a necessity caused by the complete anarchy that prevailed in the Pallava kingdom, is skilfully brought out by the sculptors, by continuing the blank space on to this wall and then beginning to tell afresh the story of the election from the upper row. (Pl. XV, 4.)

In describing these panels we shall first give the substance of each label[4] and then see how far the sculpture agrees with the description given below.

Panel I[5]—label I.—Parameśvara Pōttaraiyar of the Pallava race (descended in this wise from its originator Brahmā), having ascended Heaven and the kingdom reduced to a state of anarchy (*utsanna*),[6] the Māttras, the Ghaṭakayār and the Mūlaprakṛitis approached Hiraṇyavarma-Mahārāja of the Kāḍava family to ask him to select a king of pure descent on both sides and one able to bear the burden of the kingdom.

The first panel is divided into two sections by a horizontal band. The Māttras are depicted in the upper half while the lower half contains the Mūlaprakṛitis and the Ghaṭakayār who are the learned Brahmans of the *Ghaṭikā* of Kāñchī. They are depicted in the act of marching to Hiraṇyavarman, the Brahmans leading the others. The distinctions observed in their dresses are very interesting. The Mūlaprakṛitis wear a sort of conical head-dress while the Brahmans have a knotted head-dress. Perhaps, their hair is twisted in this fashion. They also wear a sort of *aṅgavastram*. (Pl. XV, 1.)

[1] *Ep. Rep.* No. 56 of 1903.
[2] *S. I. I.*, Vol. 2, part III, p. 357, verse 26.
[3] *S. I. I.*, Vol. 2, part V, p. 511, verse 24.
[4] For text of labels *see* Appendix I at pp. 54-55.
[5] Rea, *Pallava Architecture*, Pl. XC, Fig. 2, upper row.
[6] For the word '*utsanna*' we have the following meanings : 'decayed', 'destroyed', 'ruined', 'uprooted', 'left off'.

Panel II—label II.—Here is the place where we have the members of the deputation waiting on Hiraṇyavarman who questioned them as to the object of their visit. They replied that their kingdom was in chaos and that they had come to him with an appeal to choose for them a king of good heredity, able to rule over them skilfully. This panel is again divided into two sections by a horizontal band evidently explaining two incidents, and since Hiraṇyavarman is concerned in both, he is represented conspicuously big in size, occupying a part of both the sections, the upper and the lower. (Pl. XV, 2.)

Hiraṇyavarman is seated on a throne attended by a *chāmara*-bearer on his right and an attendant on his left. By the side of his foot-stool are seated two men. His head-dress resembling a turban is quite different from the usual crown worn by the Pallava monarchs, the predecessors and successors of Siṁha-vishṇu. This naturally shows that Hiraṇyavarman and the members of his family occupied a subordinate position in the Pallava kingdom. The members of the deputation have made their appeal and are shown awaiting a reply.

Panel III—labels III and IV.—In response to their request Hiraṇyavarma-Mahārāja sent for all the Kulamallar and asked if any of them would be willing to accept the Pallava kingship, but none of them volunteered to do so. He repeated the question to his four sons, Śrī-malla, Raṇa-malla, Saṅgrāma-malla and Pallava-malla. Each of the first three in turn refused to go, saying "You had better go as a king; we will not", while Pallava-malla *alias* Parameśvara, bowed to his father and replied "I shall go".

On hearing that his youngest son had consented to take up the kingship of the Pallava realm, Hiraṇyavarman was tossed between two conflicting feelings; of happiness at the thought that the good and truthful son born to enhance the glory of the Kāḍava family, was going to rule a kingdom, and of grief at the thought of separation from him. And with his heart filled as if with ambrosia and fire at the same time (*amṛtamannareṛikalanda hṛidayastanāki*), he refused to send his son, a boy who was only twelve years old.

Whereupon, the disappointed (Viddhāgamika)[1] Dharaṇikoṇḍa Pōśan, assured Hiraṇyavarman that his son, Pallava-malla, had previously worshipped Mahā-vishṇu and therefore he was destined to become an Emperor. Thereupon, the king consented to part with his son.

Panel III is divided as usual into two halves by a horizontal band. Hiraṇya-varman sits on his throne; an attendant stands to his left. The label below does not contain the information that the queen of Hiraṇyavarman is also by his side in this panel. But here we see her seated by the right of the Mahārāja. The upper half of the panel to the right of the queen is taken up by six figures—the one next to her being smaller than the rest—who no doubt are meant to represent the members of the deputation and the Kulamallar. Who the smaller figure is, will become clear presently.

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[1] The name of this person is spelt in all the places where it occurs in the text as Taraṇḍikoṇḍa Pośaṇ; and so it cannot be equated into Dharaṇikoṇḍa pośaṇ. He was probably a venerable Brahman, hailing from Taraṇḍikoṇḍa (a place-name ?) and well-versed in the (*Āgamas vṛiddha āgamika*). According to Kittal (*Kannaḍa Dictionary, p. 145*) an '*āgamika*' means 'one who has studied the śāstras', or 'an offciating *Brāhmaṇa* of a temple'. Taraṇḍikoṇḍa pōśar was probably the Brahman-counseller of Hiraṇyavarman.

The four sons of Hiraṇyavarman are standing in a row in the lower half. The last one occupying the left corner is the young Pallava-malla. He is again represented on the top bowing to his father having boldly announced that he would take up on his shoulder the burden of ruling the kingdom. Both Hiraṇyavarman[1] and his queen appear to be old. Below, at their feet, sits on an *āsana* the leader of the deputation, the Brahman Dharaṇikoṇḍa Pōśan persuading the old father to send his son to be the king. (Pl. XV, 3.)

Panel IV—labels V and VI.—This part of the inscription is very fragmentary and is badly damaged. Therefore, we are able to make out very little of it. Hiraṇyavarman apparently asks a question on seeing something resembling an elephant's head; more we cannot make out.

Label VI contains the reply of Dharaṇikoṇḍa Pōśan. He says that it was not an elephant's head, but the crown to be worn by his son. One wonders why Hiraṇyavarman should have mistaken the crown and other insignia of royalty for the head of an elephant, for these must have been familiar to him and should have been the same as those used in the coronations of the former Pallava kings. It is possible, however, that Hiraṇyavarman, being a member of a collateral branch of the royal line, who perhaps had never much to do with courts and coronations and had chosen the life of a recluse, could not recognise the insignia of royalty as such. Or it may be that, being old and perhaps half-blind and now excited over the departure of his young and beloved son, he could not at the moment recognise the things that were brought before him by the ambassadors. Unfortunately, the insignia of royalty in the hands of the men are not visible in this panel.

Part of this panel is divided into two halves by a horizontal band. The men in the upper and in the lower halves of this part appear to be very much excited. But we see no crown resembling an elephant's head in the hands of any member here. The right half of the panel shows the three queens of Hiraṇyavarman seated on a throne and three men standing near the throne. Unfortunately, much of the label which must have had something to tell us about them is lost. (Pl. XVI, 3.)

Panels V and VI—labels VII and VIII.—Then Pallava-malla having been presented with the weapons of war[2] by Hiraṇyavarma-Mahārāja and Dharaṇḍikoṇḍa Pōśan, descended from his *śibika* and having bowed to them requested his father Hiraṇyavarman to permit him to depart. Starting from there he passed through several mountains and jungles.

Panel V is divided into two sections by a horizontal band. The upper shows Hiraṇyavarman seated with Dharaṇikoṇḍa Pōśan by his side. The other officials and ambassadors are standing by their sides. The lower half has the young Parameśvara seated on a beautifully adorned horse and marches along with soldiers and other officials in front and horsemen behind. (Pl. XVI, 4.)

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[1] Rea's sketch includes a long flying feather over Hiraṇyavarman's turban. We do not find this feather in the actual sculpture.

[2] The expression *viḍai koḍukka*, as now revised, means 'having given (*him*) permission'. Subsequently Pallavamalla took leave of Hiraṇyavarman and Taraṇḍikoṇḍa Pośar and started out.

Panel VI which is again divided into two halves as the previous panel, contains in the upper section Hiraṇyavarman seated with Dharaṇikoṇḍa Pōśan by his side. Behind Hiraṇyavarman[1] stands an attendant. Little Nandivarman bows before his father with his hands in *añjali*, seeking the blessings of his father. Behind him stands an armed soldier.

The lower half represents the young prince on his horse marching along. The word '*śivigai*' used in this label generally means a palanquin, but the literal meaning of *śivigai* is 'a vehicle'. In the inscription it is evident that the word is used in the latter sense, for we find no palanquin in the sculpture and Pallava-malla is placed only on a horse. It is interesting to find that the man standing just before the horse of Pallava-malla in this as well as in the previous panel, has a huge drum and he walks before the prince, proclaiming the little prince's coming election to the Pallava throne.[2] This is perhaps the *kaṭu-mukha-vāditra* mentioned in the inscription. (Pl. XIV, 3.)

Panels VII and VIII—labels VIII and IX.—We have to take in a part of label VIII and the whole of label IX in order to explain the two panels. Then Pallava-malla passed through several forests and Pallavadiāraiyar, hearing of the arrival of Pallava-malla, welcomed him with a big army and placing him on an elephant, proceeded towards the city of Kāñchī.

That the newly elected Pallava king was recognised by the Pallava feudatories is clear from the mention of Pallavadiaraiyar who, as we know, from Pallava epigraphy, were the feudatory chiefs of the Pallavas like the Muttaraiyar and Pēraraiyar. On his way to the Pallava capital Kāñchī, Parameśvara must have passed through several little states ruled over by feudatories who came to pay their homage to the prince who is soon to be elevated as the overlord of the Pallava realm.

Label IX informs us that the *Mahāsāmantas*, the *Nagarattārs*, the *Mūla-prakṛitis* and Kāṭaka[3]-Muttaṛaiyar learning that Pallava-malla's elephant had arrived, went to meet him and that all of them there entered the palace (*kōyil*).[4]

Panel VII, which is divided horizontally into two sections, contains still in the upper row the seated Hiraṇyavarman, sad and dejected, with two attendants to his right. The rest of the panel illustrates one scene. (Pl. XIV, 4.) A number of men on the right side are cheering Pallava-malla as he is proceeding on horseback. A man with a *kirīṭa* on his head is meeting him. Evidently, this is the Pallavadiaraiyar. His army of elephants is represented in the next panel, *i.e.*, panel VIII, which is again divided as before into two sections. The upper is filled with the army of elephants and the lower contains the marching of soldiers and horsemen.

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[1] The sequence in Panels V and VI appears to be—top portion of panel V, top portion of panel VI, followed by bottom portions of panels V and VI. Hiraṇyavarman and Taraṇḍikoṇḍa Pōśar are seated and young Pallava-malla takes leave of them both. Then mounting on a caparisoned charger he marches along towards Kāñchī, followed by soldiers and other officials.

[2] We miss this artistic drum in the hands of the drummer in Rea's sketch, but in the sculpture, we distinctly see the instrument.

[3] I think this must be read as 'Kāḍava-Mūttaraiyar, *i.e.*, the Mūttaraiyar chief ruling under the Pallavas.

[4] '*Kōyil*' may mean either 'a palace' or 'a temple.' Here I think '*kōyil*' may be taken in the former sense.
"Kōyiṉ maṉṉanaik-kurukiṉal" *Śilappadikāram*. 20 : (47).

Panel IX.—The officials, the townsmen, the feudatories and the *Mūlaprakṛitis* are all seen in the lower half of this panel going towards Paramesvara to welcome him. Paramesvara is seen again on horseback. The picture of their entering into the palace is not clear. We are left to imagine that they have entered the palace. Elephants occupy the upper half of the panel.

Panel X—label X.—This label records thus :—After entering the palace, the circle of ministers, the *Mahāsāmantas*, the men of the two *gaṇas* and the *Ghaṭikayār*, all combined together and anointed him (the Prince) under the name of Nandivarman, and (investing him) with all the insignia of royalty, such as the royal umbrella, the *samudraghōsha*, the *khaṭvāṅga* and the *ṛishabha-lāñchhana*, proclaimed his authority by issuing commands under the royal seal of '*Viḍēlviḍugu*'.[1]

In this panel, Nandivarman sits on a beautiful throne. Two men are pouring the *abhisheka* water on his head. The officers mentioned in the label are seen standing in the upper half of the panel. The Brahmans, that is, the *Ghaṭikayār* are seated to the right of Nandivarman, the ministers standing behind them. It is interesting to mention here that this is the last coronation we see, for we witness no more coronations in the succeeding panels. (Pl. XVI, 2.)

Panel XI[2]*—label XI.*—Label XI is very much damaged, but we can surmise what the label intends to convey. It seems to record that while Nandivarman Pallava-malla was ruling the kingdom as *Perumāṇaḍi*,[3] his ministers, the *Mūlaprakṛitis* and others advised him to subdue Śrīchaḷuki (Vikramāditya), the most powerful and active of his enemies.

This makes clear that immediately after the coronation of the young king, he was faced with troubles from the 'natural foe' of the Pallavas, namely, the Chālukyas.

Contemporary records, such as the Kailāsanātha inscription of Vikramāditya II, the Vakkalēri and the Keṇḍūr plates of king Kīrtivarman, throw light on the relationship of the Pallavas and the Chālukyas in this period. In particular, the Vakkalēri plates[4] provide detailed information relating to the invasion of Kāñchī by the Chālukyan emperor, Vikramāditya II. The description contained in the Keṇḍūr plates is as follows :—"Being resolved to uproot completely his 'natural enemy' (*prakṛity-amitra*), Vikramāditya II (A.D. 733-746) reached Tuṇḍākavishaya, beat and put to flight at the opening of the campaign, the opposing Pallava king named Nandipotavarman, took possession of particular musical instruments called *kaṭumukha-vāditra* and *samudraghosha*, the *khaṭvāṅga-dhvaja*, many excellent and well-known intoxicated elephants and a heap of rubies which dispelled darkness by the brilliancy of the multitude of their rays ; entered, without destroying it, the city of Kāñchī which was, as it were, a girdle adorning yonder lady, the region of the south, (and) rejoiced the Brahmans and poor and helpless people by his uninterrupted liberality "....He also "acquired high merit by restoring heaps of gold to the stone temple of Rājasiṁhesvara and other gods which

[1] *Tiruvāṇai-naḍāvi*, cf. *Dharmachakrapravartana* rendered into *aṛavāḻi-naḍāvudal.* [The idea seems to be that 'Viḍēlviḍugu' was fixed upon as the young king's sign-manual, for the issue of his royal orders.—Ed.]

[2] Rea-*Pallava Architecture*, Pl. XC, Fig. 1, upper row.

[3] *Perumāṇaḍi* was a surname of Pallava-malla and the Gaṅga king Śrīpurusha is said to have seized this title after defeating Pallava-malla in a severe fight.

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, p. 23.

have been caused to be built by Narasiṁhapotavarman who distressed Pāṇḍya, Choḷa, Keraḷa, Kaḷabhra and other kings...."[1]

Panel XI[2] is divided into two divisions by a horizontal band. The upper shows three sections, the first containing perhaps the ministers and the *Mūlaprakṛitis*. In the next we have Nandivarman seated and a man, perhaps the chief minister, relating to him the danger from the side of the Chāluki. Behind them, by the side of a pillar, stand a few men. The lower register exhibits a group of soldiers, Brahmans and the ministers of the king. The Brahmans are seated, the rest are standing. The anxious look of each of them is quite evident. (Pl. XX, 1.)

Panel XII—label XII.—The Chālukyan inscriptions clearly reveal the fact that Nandivarman II was badly defeated by Vikramāditya II and label XII, though very fragmentary, implies this fact by the phrase "*durdukkha*". There is in the upper portion of panel XII a figure kneeling before another which is attended by *bhaṭas*. Behind the kneeling figure stands another *bhaṭa*, his left hand raised aloft. Below in the lower section we see six soldiers standing in a row, some with swords resting on their shoulders. The kneeling figure may be Nandivarman submitting to the Chāluki, but it is doubtful if the sculptors meant to depict him or his general. (Pl. XVIII, 1.)

It is a pity that the labels below the panels stop with the Chālukya invasion and that the succeeding panels do not contain any description. The interpretation of the rest of the panels has therefore once more to proceed with the material drawn from other sources.

The Chālukya invasion, it has been held, must have taken place in the early years of Pallava-malla's rule, when he was preoccupied with his southern warfare, between 733 and 746 A.D. The position of these panels relating to the wars among those of the reign of Nandivarman will be seen to confirm the date thus suggested for the Chālukyan invasion of Kāñchī.

That Vikramāditya II invaded the southern country some time during the first few years of Nandivarman's rule is confirmed by the label and also by the panels here.

That in the early years of his rule Nandivarman was threatened with internal dissensions and foreign invasion is clearly established from contemporary epigraphy. Here, in the following panels we see continuous marchings of armed soldiers and many confused scenes of fighting and killing.

The Udayēndiram plates[3] dated in the twenty-first year of Nandivarman, give a graphic account of Nandivarman's long and difficult campaign against the southern powers—the *Drāviḍa* princes who, for unknown reasons, espoused the cause of Chitramāya, a young pretender who had set up a claim to the Pallava throne.

The most valuable portion of the Udayēndiram grant is the account of services which Udayendra, the general of Nandivarman, rendered to his royal master. Pallava-malla was besieged by the *Drāviḍa* princes in a place called

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 205-6.
[2] Rea, *Pallava Architecture*, Pl. XC, Fig. 1, upper row.
[3] See Appendix II at pp. 56-57.

Nandipura and Udayachandra came to his rescue and killed with his own hands Chitramāya and others.[1]

It is probable that the series of panels after Panel XII relate to the military activities of Nandivarman and Udayachandra against the southern powers.

Panel XIII.—This is as usual divided into two sections by a thin horizontal band. The seated figure in the upper half is perhaps Nandivarman holding a long sword in his left hand. The one seated to his right is perhaps Nandivarman's general Udayachandra. Another person is seated to the right of the above and two soldiers are standing to the left of the king. The lower half consists of five armed soldiers standing in a row and appearing as if they are ready to start on an expedition. (Pl. XVIII, 2.)

Panel XIV.—This panel has again two divisions but seems to depict more than one action. A part of the upper division shows Nandivarman sitting and holding in his hand a long sword. To his right sits a *bhaṭa*. In front kneel two soldiers anxiously reporting something to the king. (Pl. XVIII, 3.)

Three more soldiers are also standing behind these men. In the lower half we have five soldiers of the last panel marching behind another soldier who is riding on a horse. The handsome and young soldier on horseback is perhaps Udayachandra. He seems to march against the rival army of Chitramāya.

We read in the Udayēndiram grant " When he (Udayachandra) perceived that Pallava-malla was besieged in Nandipura by the *Drāviḍa* princes, unable to bear this, like the visible death of the cloud of the enemies of Pallava-malla, slew with his sharp sword which glittered like the petal of a water-lily, the Pallava king Chitramāya and others........".[2]

A section of Panel XIV and the whole of Panel XV seem to portray these facts. The right upper corner of Panel XIV contains three men, one of whom is being bound to a stake by another behind. A third figure sits before, holding forth the right hand to prevent the individual who was caught from escaping. This picture gives us the presumption that the man who was caught by the two individuals was a supporter of Nandivarman who had the misfortune to fall in the hands of his enemies. Three soldiers are seated below this scene.

Panel XV.—This panel is divided into two sections by a horizontal band, but each of the two sections is again subdivided into different small sections by thin vertical bands, each sub-section depicting a particular action. (Pl. VIII, 1.)

The first upper section shows the marching of armed soldiers who suddenly appear to be excited at something, evidently at the event which is depicted in the corresponding lower half of the panel. The lower half shows a number of soldiers who are standing. The two seated figures in the next section may be identified with the besieged general of the previous panel and his guard. There seems to be no doubt that the next picture (lower register) represents the slaying of Chitramāya by Udayachandra and his soldiers. One man holds Chitramāya

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[1] *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, part III, p. 372.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 372.

firmly by the throat, while another is stabbing him in the heart with a long sword. This picture satisfies the description given in the Udayēndiram plates.

The next section represents Udayachandra triumphantly marching along followed by the two veteran soldiers. In front of the group stand three men, the foremost proclaiming to the world by beat of the drum (*kaṭumukha-vāditra*) that Chitramāya, the deadly enemy of Nandivarman, is no more, and that Udayachandra is determined to pursue his other enemies. The other two lower sections show Udayachandra again on horseback marching forward and followed by soldiers, while others in front are announcing his victory.

The corresponding upper sections depict Nandivarman back on his throne after the suppression of Chitramāya's revolt. He hears reports of further activities of his brave general against other enemies, and the elephants which are marching are probably sent by the king to help Udayachandra.

The military activities of Udayachandra after the death of Chitramāya are recorded thus in the Udayēndiram grant :—" who (Udayachandra) defeated the hostile army on the battlefields of Nimba(vana), Chūtavana, Śaṁkaragrāma, Nellūr, Nelvēli, Sūravaḻundūr and so forth, and (thus) bestowed the whole kingdom many times on the Pallava ; who, while his strong arm became adorned with the copious rutting juice which oozed out at (his) collision with the pair of tusks of the elephant on which the leader of the Śabara army was mounted, split (the head of) the opposing Śabara king called Udayana in the terrible battle of Nelvēli, which could hardly be entered by a common man, and seized (his) mirror-banner made of the peacock's tail, who in the northern region also pursued the Nishāda chief called Prithivīvyāghra, who desiring to become very powerful was running after the horse of the Aśvamedha, defeated (him), ordered him out of the district (*vishaya*) of Vishṇurāja, (which) he subjected to the Pallava, and seized faultless pearl necklaces of excellent lustre, an immeasurable heap of gold and elephants ; (and) who destroyed (the fort of) Kāḷidurga which was protected by the Goddess Kālī, and defeated the Pāṇḍya army at the village of Maṇṇaikuḍi ".[1]

I think the sculptures succeeding Panel XV appear to portray at least a part of the events contained in the above passage.

Panel XVI.—In the upper section the elephants are represented marching, and in the lower section we have the soldiers who are excited as if still proclaiming the happy death of Chitramāya.

Panel XVII.—We still see the elephants in the upper half and the soldiers in the lower register.

Panel XVIII.—In the upper section, Nandivarman sits on the throne hearing reports of warfare. In the lower the foot-men meet and join the elephants. (Pl. XVI, 6.)

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[1] *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, part III, p. 372.

Walls Nos. 6 and 7—Lower row.

(South Wall.)

Panel I[1].—This panel which is divided into four small sections is much damaged; however, Mr. Rea's sketch contains all the figures and details found therein. The first section represents either the king or Udayachandra seated and surrounded by three or four soldiers. Next we see the same soldiers with a few more, listening to the orders from the commander who is seated in the next section of the panel. Then we witness the fussy soldiers, some peeping out to see if the army of their enemies is approaching, while others are climbing what looks like a huge branch of a tree. (Pl. XV, 5.)

Panels II and III.—These seem to explain a single event. Panel III depicts the vigorous marching of the enemies' horses, elephants and foot-men towards the Pallava army. The last two sections of Panel II continue the march of these elephants, horses and foot-men who finally attack the Pallava soldiers.

I think that this part of the panel reveals one of the strategic methods employed by the Pallava soldiers in attacking their enemies. It is likely that this fight which we see now took place in the middle of a forest. When the Pallava soldiers learnt, perhaps through spies, that the army of the enemy was marching against them they seem to have silently posted themselves on branches of trees waiting for the enemies to march through, with a view to attacking them suddenly from above. This panel seems to show a picture of that description. We see the Pallava soldiers posted on the branches. The attack has begun and a few men are shown falling off headlong from the branches as a result of the conflict that ensued. (Pl. XVI, 5.)

Panels IV and V.—In these two pictures we have the Pallava king seated, attended by a number of soldiers, some seated, others standing. Elephants are also found here. These may be elephants and soldiers which have returned from the battlefield to report to the king the success of the army.

We saw in the Udayēndiram plates that the last two acts of Udayachandra's military career were the capture of the fort named Kāḷidurga and his successful fight in the battle of Maṇṇaikuḍi.

Panel VI.—It seems correct to identify this picture as representing the capture of Kāḷidurga. The fort is surrounded by high ramparts strongly fortified. A number of soldiers are in the act of attacking it and a row of elephants are posted to the left of the fort. (Pl. XVI, 1.)

Mr. Foulkes proposed to identify this fort with the present Calicut.[1] Dr. Hultzsch pointed out that the Tamil form of Calicut is not Kāḷikōṭṭai but Kaḷḷikoṭṭai and that its Malayalam name is Kōḷikkōḍu or Kōḷikkūḍu.[2]

Now we must remember that the battle of Maṇṇaikuḍi was fought between the Pallavas and the Pāṇḍyas and that it is mentioned in the Udayēndiram grant immediately after the capture of Kāḷidurga.[3] I think Kāḷidurga must be situated in the South somewhere near the Pāṇḍya capital. It may be identified

[1] Rea, *Pallava Architecture*, Pl. XC, Fig 2, lower row.
[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, p. 283.
[3] *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, Part III, p. 364.

with the village Kāḷikāppan in the Madura Taluk of the Madura district.[1] The last part of Panel VI shows the king seated, hearing reports perhaps of the capture of Kāḷidurga from a soldier standing before him with a long staff in his hand.

Panel VII[2].—This, I consider, represents the famous battle of Maṇṇai-kuḍi, where the Pallavas and the Pāṇḍyas were vigorously engaged against each other. The man on horseback is perhaps Udayachandra and the Pallava elephants are posted on his right. (Pl. XX, 2.)

Now the Udayēndiram plates tell us that the Pāṇḍya army was defeated at Maṇṇaikuḍi, whereas the Pāṇḍya charter, *i.e.*, the Vēḷvikuḍi grant, bestows the victory on the Pāṇḍya king. This need not mean that there were two battles of Maṇṇaikuḍi. This is not the only battle in the history of the world in which both parties to it are seen claiming victory for themselves.

Panel VIII.—King Nandivarman is seated on the throne; an attendant is standing behind him, and three more men are standing before. (Pl. XVIII, 4.)

Panel IX.—This has again Nandivarman on his throne with an attendant standing behind him. The men on two elephants have just arrived before him. A soldier who has just descended from his horse, kneels before the king giving reports evidently of the battle of Maṇṇaikuḍi. Perhaps it is Udayachandra himself who has returned from the battlefield and bowed before the king prior to the narration of his triumphant activities against the southern kings headed by the Pāṇḍyas. (Pl. XVIII, 5.)

Panel X:—This seems to confirm our suggestion with regard to the last panel. I believe it is certainly Udayachandra who is now raised up on a platform, standing and in the act of relating something very important to the king who in astonishment and wonder, is represented in the act of rising from his throne. An attendant stands behind the king. Two men who are seated behind Udayachandra and two others seated on the floor are also listening to the thrilling account of the commander. (Pl. XVIII, 6.)

Panel XI.—In the right half of this panel which is divided into two sections by a thin vertical band, Nandivarman sits on his throne with an attendant standing behind him while another man stands to his right. A few soldiers have just arrived in his presence; the foremost is standing and has his hands in *añjali*; the one next to him is kneeling and three others who are standing behind these two all appear to be giving reports of battle. (Pl. VIII, 2.)

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[1] I am indebted to Dr. P. N. Ramasubramanyan of Madura for the following information regarding the village Kāḷikāppaṇ. He has been to the place and has examined the spot:—

"The village Kāḷikāppan is four miles due east of Madura. At present, the actual village with its *pariah* quarters is situated in the midst of paddy fields. A couple of furlongs to the east of these huts right in the middle of the paddy field again is a broken image of a nude Kāḷi placed on a cut stone mound. Though rarely any real worship is performed to this deity, still she is considered to this day as the Guardian Deity of this village. Adjacent to the village of Kāḷikāppan is a temple called Pāṇḍimuṇikōvil, which is frequented by large crowds of devotees twice every week. It is believed that the Pāṇḍya kings used to come and worship here."

Another informant from Madura tells me that about four furlongs due east of the present village of Kāḷikāppaṇ we see traces of a ruined Kāḷi temple surrounded by mounds heaped up here and there. These perhaps indicate the relics of an ancient fortress.

Some of the copper-plate grants issued in Pallavamalla's reign come from the Tanjore District; and it is possible that Tanjore and Trichinopoly Districts were the region where he had come into conflict with the Pāṇḍyas. It is, however, problematical if Udayachandra's army penetrated as far south as the Pāṇḍya capital itself.

[2] Rea, *Pallava Architecture* Pl, XC, fig. 1, lower row.

Panel XII.—The three sections of panel XII portray the extraordinary performance of the Pallava cavalry. They are shown as if they are marching forward triumphantly from a thick fight, crushing under the hooves of their horses, their enemies who are fallen on the ground. The first section of this panel depicts a horseman marching along with great joy, cheering the people around and carrying something in his right hand which is raised aloft. This seems to be a war trophy. (Pl. VIII, 3.)

The contemporary Gaṅga inscriptions make clear that there was warfare between the Pallavas and the Gaṅgas and this is corroborated by the evidence of the Pallava epigraphs also. The Taṇḍantōṭṭam plates say that Pallava-malla snatched away from the Gaṅga king a precious necklace in which was set the gem called 'Ugrodayam' "*dhatte Gaṁgād-apahṛitam-ugrodaya-kaustubhaṁ gaḷābharaṇaṁ*"[1]. It may be that the article which the man on the horseback carries contains the valuable necklace.

Panel XIII.—In this panel we have Nandivarman seated on his throne and an attendant stands behind him. Three Brahmans are seated on the floor to the right of the king, Behind them stands an elephant with a rider on its back. Another man stands before the king handing over to him something which the latter receives in his right hand.

Panel XIV.—This is divided into two sections by a thin vertical band. The first has a few riders on horses and elephants, which may be a wing of the Pallava army returning home after fighting with the Gaṅgas. The next section shows the Pallava king standing on his throne, excited and has in his left palm raised aloft some article, perhaps the necklace with the precious gem. To his right stands a soldier and to his left an attendant. On a raised *āsana*, a man and a woman are seated to the left of the king.

Panel XV.—This depicts only the marching of a few elephants, horsemen and foot-soldiers, perhaps another wing of the Pallava army returning home. (Pl. XVI, 7.)

Panel XVI.—This panel which is divided into two sections by a vertical band contains in the first section an elephant with two riders on them both having their hands in *añjali* and proceeding towards the king who is seated in the next section. Here we see two thrones, on one sits the Pallava king with an attendant standing behind. Opposite to him on another throne, sits another individual. Behind them, at a distance is standing a small man watching the conversation between the Pallava king and the seated figure on the opposite throne. The latter is perhaps the Gaṅga king who had come to amicable terms with the Pallavas after the recent fight. (Pl. XVI, 8.)

It is just possible that this friendly relationship between the Gaṅgas and the Pallavas continued till the end of Pallava-malla's rule. If so, it would only strengthen the view entertained by Dr. N. Venkatramanayya,[2] that it was Pallava-malla who in co-operation with the Rāshṭrakūṭa Govinda III, crowned the Gaṅga prince Śivamāra, son of Śrīpurusha.

[1] *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, part V, p. 520, line 10.
[2] *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, 1934, January-March, pp. 1-8.

Wall No. 8—Upper row.

(South-west corner of Court.)

Panel I[1].—In this panel the king is seated on his throne, a lady attendant stands to his right, another tiny man takes his place on the left of the king. Next to these stands a man carefully holding with his hands some article placed on his head. This may be the precious necklace again. Below are seated two men and two more men are just going out somewhere.

Panel II.—This panel which is again divided into two sections like the previous one, contains in the upper section a number of men as if ready to start out somewhere. Below we see two elephants. Over one of them sit two men while over the other two men are standing. Some more men are seen in the picture but it is not clear what they are intending to do.

Panel III.—Like the previous panel, this is also divided into two sections, the upper contains the king seated, behind him stands an attendant, in front of him we find a man with the hands in *añjali*. Behind him is another individual holding the hip of the former. Behind these stand two more men with their right hands raised aloft. Below are elephants. Over one of them—possibly this was Paṭṭavardhana—sits the individual whom we saw in panel I, bearing on his head an article which we supposed was the war trophy brought from the Gaṅga king.

From the Taṇḍantōṭṭam plates we learn that Nandivarman took away from the Gaṅga king not only the necklace set with the gem 'Ugrodaya' but also captured an excellent elephant named 'Paṭṭavardhana' described as follows:— "To his lot (also) fell an excellent elephant named Paṭṭavardhana which (in appearance) was like the (manifest) arrogance of its master, like victory in body, like a high mountain moving about, (and) from whose temples the ornament (of red paint) was wiped away by the excess of flowing rut sipped by the swarm of bees whirling about restlessly."[2]

Gaṅga history is full of references to the love of their monarchs for elephants. Śrīpurusha Muttarasa, Pallava-malla's contemporary, is the author of an important work on elephants, namely, the *Gaja-śāstra.*[3] Śivamāra, Śrīpurusha's son wrote the *Gajāshṭaka* of such poetical merit that 'if it was imparted to a deaf mute, it would make him speak'.[3] It is not surprising therefore, that the Gaṅga kings possessed some rare elephants and one of them was the 'Paṭṭavardhana' which fell into the hands of Nandivarman Pallava-malla. This elephant is seen not only in this panel but also in several succeeding ones.

Panel IV.—Herein we see in the upper section four men with their hands raised aloft and walking fast. In the lower section we see seven men; three to our left are standing, one holding a sword in his right hand, the other two are

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[1] Rea., *Pallava Architecture*, Plate LXXXIX, Fig. B, upper row.
[2] *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, part V, p. 520, ll. 11-13.
[3] *Epigraphia. Carnatica*, Vol. VIII, No. 35.

holding each other's right hand. The three men to our right are also standing and at their feet sits a man with his hands folded.

Panel V.—The upper portion of this panel is seriously damaged. We are able to see only three men who are standing. The lower contains three elephants with riders on them. One of them is the 'Paṭṭavardhana' over which the man with the trophy sits. (Pl. XIX, 10, *left.*)

Panel VI.—Like the previous panels, this is divided into two sections. In the upper we have Nandivarman seated. In front of him stands a man with his hands in *añjali*. To the left of the king rests another by whose right side stands a fourth man, his right hand raised aloft. In the lower half we have an interesting picture. (Pl. XIX, 10, *middle.*)

Within a small structure we see a man and a woman sitting opposite each other and looking out to see something. Next to them we see five men, two fallen on the ground, one seated with both his hands raised aloft, while another holds him leaning against him as if in terrible fear. Another man stands behind this group informing them of something.

Panel VII.—The upper section of this panel has the king seated and attended by three men, one of whom is standing behind and two are seated in front. The latter appear to be Brahmans. A small man stands in the left corner. In the lower half of the panel we have two elephants with riders on them. (Pl. XIX, 10, *right.*)

Panel VIII.—This is an inspiring picture full of action. Swinging their long swords and broad shields over their heads, march in great hurry the foot-soldiers, followed behind by the proud fast-running elephants each ridden by more than one man. The one that sits on the elephant sheltered by the shade of a *chhatra* is perhaps the leader of the army.

We must remember that Nandivarman was besieged in a place called Nandipura which is identical with Nāthaṉkōil near Kumbhakoṇam.[1] This shows that Pallava-malla had gone out of his capital in order to attack his southern enemies, and it is likely that he had neither the opportunity nor the possibility to return to his capital and to resume his kingship until he had thoroughly subdued his southern foes, as well as the Gaṅgas who had attacked him from the north-west.

The relationship between the Pallavas and their contemporary Rāshṭrakūṭas from the time of Nandivarman Pallava-malla to the end of Nṛipatuṅgavarman's reign may be said to have been one of mixed war and peace. At least, three Rāshṭrakūṭa kings were contemporary with Pallava-malla. The Rāshṭrakūṭa inscriptions mention distinctly hostilities between them and the Pallava ruler. The verse in the Elura inscription[2] refers to the subjugation of Kāñchī by Dantidurga and the Bagumra Plates of Indra III[3] state that "Dantidurga first reduced the country in the extreme south, then turned towards his enemies to Madhyadēśa and finally conquered the city of Kāñchī."

[1] Nāthaṉkōil is the same as Nandipura-Viṇṇagar.
[2] *Arch. Survey of Western India*, No. 10, p. 91.
[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 24.

The copper-plates of Pallava-malla are completely silent regarding the invasion of the Rāshṭrakūṭas under Dantidurga. Only the Vēlūrpāḷaiyam plates of Nandivarman III state that Pallava-malla's queen was a Rāshṭrakūṭa princess.

We have no direct evidence to show when this Rāshṭrakūṭa invasion under Dantidurga took place, but the best time for this must have been when Nandivarman was engaged in his war with the Gaṅgas. The absence of Pallava-malla and his army from Kāñchī must have furnished the occasion for the Rāshṭrakūṭa invasion resulting in the capture of the city.

Nandivarman must have learnt of the danger that threatened his kingdom and put an end to his war with the Gaṅgas by quickly coming to an understanding with them. He must have immediately hastened to the rescue of his capital. If this was the course of events, then we can easily follow the striking military scenes depicted in these and the succeeding panels. The Pallava army returned in such great haste as to cause much excitement among the people living on the route of their march. (See Panel VI of the same row, described on p. 45.)

In the succeeding panels we have pictures depicting Pallava-malla receiving the homage due to him from his feudatories on the way, and we also witness confused scenes of warfare indicating, as we suppose, the Pallava-Rāshṭrakūṭa fight.

Wall No. 9—Upper row.

(South-west corner.)

Panel I.[1]—Pallava-malla is seated on a raised platform attended by two men, one to his right and another to his left, both standing. On a lower level in front of the king sits a man paying homage. This is perhaps a feudatory chief. Behind him stand two elephants; one is the 'Paṭṭavardhana' over which sits the man with the trophy, and over the other sits a man with his right hand raised aloft. Below the king's seat sit four men. (Pl. XIX, 5, *left.*)

Panel II.—The usual two divisions are maintained in this panel. In the upper half sits the king on a throne attended by two women on his right. To his left stands a crowned figure informing the king of something. Next to him a man stands, his hands in *añjali*. Between these two a small man kneels before the king. In the extreme right corner we see the man with the trophy, not on the elephant but standing. In the lower half of the panel, we have caparisoned elephants and horses. This is perhaps another picture showing the homage paid to the Pallava king by one of his feudatories. (Pl. XIX, 5, *right.*)

Panel III.—This picture shows the Pallava army resuming its vigorous march. Foot-men, horses and elephants march in full speed. (Pl. XIX, 8, *left.*)

Panel IV.—In the upper division of this panel the seated king gives some orders to his woman-attendant standing to his left. Next to her stands the trophy bearer, while two others are paying their homage to the king. To the right of the king under a tree stands a venerable looking man, probably bearded, with his hands in *añjali*. The lower half of the panel is filled with royal elephants and riders on them. (Pls. XX, 3 and XIX, 8, *right.*)

[1] Rea, *Pallava Architecture*, Pl. LXXXIX, Fig. A, upper row.

Panel V.—As a victor did Pallava-malla enter Kāñchī. This is the picture we get of him from the upper section of this panel where he sits proudly, holding erect in his right hand a long sword. He is attended behind by perhaps one of his ministers or feudatories. A number of men are paying homage to him in front. In the lower half of the panel we see the soldiers, one on an elephant, proclaiming his arrival, while one of the group beats a drum. (Pl. XX, 4.)

Panel VI.—The prominent feature of the upper half of this panel is the throne, the same as the one which we saw in the coronation scene of Pallava-malla. This shows that the victor has returned to his capital and has re-occupied his throne. The *chāmara*-bearers are standing one on either side of the throne. The royal elephants are posted in the lower half. The return of Pallava-malla, as it seems, did not end his troubles. The Rāshṭrakūṭa army had still to be subdued. This was the immediate concern of Pallava-malla.

Panel VII.—This picture bears out our previous statement that Pallava-malla's troubles did not end with his return to Kāñchī. It depicts the raid of elephants on the enemy. We witness fallen soldiers and altogether a confused scene of warfare.

Panel VIII.—In the upper section we have the king seated and attended by a *bhaṭa* who stands behind. In front sits a man and at a distance sits a Brahman. The king looks very much dejected. In the lower half we have two elephants; one is the 'Paṭṭavardhana' carrying the man bearing the trophy and over the other sit two men.[1]

Wall No. 8—Lower row.

Panel I[2].—In the right quarter of the upper half of the panel the king sits on an elevated seat with an attendant behind. To his right stands a small man, his hands in the *añjali* pose. In front of the king stands, on a raised platform of the shape of a flower-pot, a man again with his hands in *añjali* relating something. Behind him sit two men, one of them holding his hands in *añjali*. The lower half of the panel contains six seated figures, three on either side of the pot-shaped platform.

Panel II.—The upper half of this panel is again occupied by the king seated and attended on his left by a man with hands in *añjali*. Three men are seen in front of the king; two are seated and one is standing with his left hand raised aloft. The lower half is taken up by five seated figures.

Panel III.—This clearly depicts a battlefield with two rival armies. The army seen to our right in this panel really starts its march from panel IV of the lower row of wall No. 9. I consider that the present panel represents the final contest between the Pallava and the Rāshṭrakūṭa forces. This fight starts earlier and culminates in the battle depicted in this panel. We may notice in particular the defeated and fallen soldiers of the army on the left.

Panel IV.—The king is seated on his throne. The attendants are standing behind. We are not able to identify the man seated to the right of the king.

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[1] Despite Rea's woodcut, the man over the elephant in the right corner holds nothing in his hands.

[2] Rea, *Pallava Architecture*, Pl. LXXXIX, *B*, lower row.

Panel V.—On a single *āsana* sit four men; the third from the left seems to be the king but who the others are it is difficult to maintain. The one to the left of the king has placed his right hand on the king's left shoulder. Below the *āsana* are seated two small men. Both these panels may be taken to represent the consultations that preceded the battle. (Pl. XIX, 11.)

Panel VI.—The Pallava army of elephants headed by the commander on horseback is marching fast to the battlefield which we have already witnessed in Panel III. A foot-soldier with a long sword in his left hand walks in front of the horseman. (Pl. XIX, 12.)

Panel VII.—The Pallava king sits in a very dejected manner attended behind by a *bhaṭa* who holds a staff in his hands. Two men who have just arrived on an elephant stand before the king, perhaps with some momentous news about the movements of the enemy. On an *āsana* opposite to the king sits a man. (Pl. XIX, 13.)

Panel VIII.—This depicts the Pallava army receiving instructions from the commander on horseback.

Wall No. 9—Lower row.

Panels I[1], *III and IV.*—These show uniformly a fight, probably a skirmish between the Pallava army and the Rāshṭrakūṭa forces at an early stage in the campaign. The soldiers who are beaten are helplessly falling on the ground. (Pl. XIX, 7.)

Panel II.—It is curious that in the midst of scenes of destruction and war, we find a beautiful sculpture of Vishṇu. (Pl. XIX, 6.) There seems to be no doubt that the figure is intended to represent a miniature sculpture of the deity installed inside the *garbhagriha* of the Parameśvara-Viṇṇagar. The figure of Vishṇu is profusely ornamented, a feature unusual in Pallava sculptures. Again it seems to be singularly out of place in the centre of pictures depicting war and confusion. We are inclined to hold that it is a later embellishment, the original panel having been covered up or chiselled off.[2] However, the Vishṇu relief, as it stands, is by no means completely out of place, for the image is in very close proximity to the temple and the Āḻvār shrine delineated in another panel which we shall describe presently and which have a more genuine look.[3]

Panel V.—This panel is of immense value to us. The first figure here is that of the imposing elephant 'Paṭṭavardhana' over which the man with the trophy sits. There is also another man apparently riding the same elephant. The elephant stands next to a shrine which we may identify as the Parameśvara-Viṇṇagar. The *vimāna* of the shrine is a copy of that of the Viṇṇagara. (Pl. XIX, 9.)

Next to this shrine we see an *āḻvār* installed in a smaller shrine.[4] He wears a *yajñopavīta* and sits in a meditative posture. He may perhaps be one of the first three *āḻvārs* who had by then come to be worshipped by the *Vishṇu-bhaktas*. It is not unlikely that in front of the Parameśvara-Viṇṇagar there was originally a shrine dedicated to this *āḻvār*; if so, it must have been replaced

[1] Rea, *Pallava Architecture*, Pl. LXXXIX, A, lower row.

[2] An examination of the position and the nature of the panel will convince any one of this fact.

[3] Some of the panels on this wall have been badly plastered with additional ornamentations which are not part of the original sculptures. But, fortunately, these plasters are peeling off at many points at present, enabling us to see the original sculptures.

[4] The shrine is thickly covered with plaster. In the lower portion of the shrine we see the original stone.

later on by the Garuḍāḷvār shrine which we see today in front of the Vaikuṇṭha-perumāḷ temple. Next to the Āḷvār shrine we see a tall *dhvajastambha* (flag-staff) bearing on the top a row of emblems resembling the *Vaishṇava* caste-mark. (Pl. XX, 5.) The emblems are seven in number and are very significant. They are not plaster-work, and undoubtedly, form a part of the original design.[1] Now there arises a question whether the *Vaishṇava* caste-mark began to obtain such a significant position in their religion as early as the days of Nandivarman Pallava-malla.

That the *Vaishṇava* caste-mark acquired sufficient importance by the tenth century is supported by epigraphy as well as by literary references to it. It is quite likely that by the time of Tirumaṅgai, the devotees of Vishṇu adopted a mark of their own to distinguish themselves from the *Śiva-bhaktas*. The term '*nīṟu*' used in *Tiruvāymoḷi* is generally accepted by *Vaishṇava* scholars to refer to their caste-mark though Vedāntadeśika says that the word '*nīṟu*' "refers only to the dust (*pachchaikkarpūram*) used in the worship of Vishṇu. Deśika quotes[2] a text as from Ātharvaṇa and explains that the '*ūrdhvapuṇḍram*' described therein refers to the caste-mark of the *Vaishṇavas*. Besides, we have in *Nāchchiyār-Tirumoḷi* the following verse[3]:

" Sindurach-chempoḍippōl Tirumāliruñjōlaiy=eṅguṁ
Indiragōpaṅgaḷē eḻundum parandiṭṭanavāl
Mandaram nāṭṭi anṟu madura=kkoḻuñ=jāṟu-koṇḍa
Sundarattōḷuḍaiyān śuḻalayil ninṟu uyduṅkolō "

Here the *Sindura-chchempoḍi* seems to be a clear reference to the red dust used by the *Vaishṇava* devotees for wearing their caste-mark on their forehead.[4]

The scattered references contained in the *Nālāyiraprabandam*[5] to the *Vaishṇava* caste-mark enable us to assert that by the time of Tirumaṅgai-Āḷvār the contemporary of Pallava-malla, the *Vaishṇava* caste-mark had come into use. Therefore, we may safely conclude that the series of seven U-marks on this *stambha* in the panel are only representations of the *Vaishṇava* caste-mark. The number seven is significant. We know that the *Vaishṇava* Brahmans affix twelve of these marks on different but definite parts of their body and that the Vaiśyas affix four. I cannot find any evidence to affirm how many the Kshatriyas are expected to use. It may be that the number is seven. If this could be proved correct, then the seven U's in the *stambha* are self-explanatory.

We may conclude that the whole scene in this long panel represents Nandivarman, not only as the builder of the Parameśvara-Viṇṇagar but as the monarch who firmly established the *Vaishṇava* religion.

Panel VI.—If our views and interpretations of the previous panel be correct, we shall then be justified in interpreting this panel as depicting another phase of the religious policy of Pallava-malla. The scene of impalement portrayed

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[1] I cleaned completely the white-wash and examined the original surface of the stone.

[2] *Pāñcharātra*, chapter II, pp 40-65.

[3] Āṇḍāḷ—9, 1.

[4] The *Vāsudevopanishad* mentions *ūrdhvapuṇḍram*, but we do not know the date of this authority. Probably it is a late work.

[5] *Tiruvāymoḷi*: references to '*nīṟu*'.
Periyāḷvār—3, 4, 6.

in this panel may naturally lead us to the conclusion that the religious policy followed by Pallava-malla was not one of uniform tolerance. (Pl. XIII, 5.)

Panel VII.—The significant figure here is that of 'Paṭṭavardhana' and the man with the trophy who is seated on it. And there is another man standing by its side. Nandivarman is seated on the throne attended by two Brahmans. Below the throne is seen seated a small man with one hand raised aloft.

Panel VIII.—The king is seated on the throne. A number of men are paying their respects to him on both sides. Below are seated a row of five men.

Panel IX.—We see Nandivarman last as a warrior and a victor. The *Ekadhīra*[1] sits proud in the plenitude of power, spear in hand,[2] and attended by a young *bhaṭa*.

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[1] 'Ekadhīra' was a surname of Pallava-malla's. Kaśākuḍi plates, *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, Part III, p. 354.

[2] Tirumaṅgai-Āḻvār describes Nandivarman thus:

"Śeruvēl valaṅgai=ppiḍitta paḍai=ttiṟal Pallavar-kōṉ."—*Parameśvara-Viṇṇagara-Padigam.*

NOTES.

1. (Page 1.)

Viṇṇagar—M. Srinivasa Ayyangar[1] maintains that the word *Viṇṇagar* or *Viṇṇagaram* is a corruption of the Sanskrit word *Vishṇu-nagara* and that it may mean 'any house of Vishṇu'. While we admit that *Viṇṇagaram* is a general name for a Vishṇu temple, we fail to see that the corresponding Sanskrit term is *Vishṇu-nagara*. The Tamil name *Viṇṇagaram* must correspond to the Sanskrit name *Vishṇu-griham*. We may herein refer to the Mahēndravāḍi inscription of Guṇabhara (Mahendravarman I). Here the Vishṇu temple (*Murāri-griham*) is called *Mahendra-Vishṇugriham*.[2]

We have in the Tamil land more than one Vishṇu temple known by the name *Viṇṇagaram* and celebrated in the hymns of the *Āḻvārs*. The following may be mentioned :—

(1) Arimēya-Viṇṇagaram
(2) Vaikunda-Viṇṇagaram
(3) Nandipura-Viṇṇagaram
(4) Kaḻi Sīrāma-Viṇṇagaram
(5) Tiru-Viṇṇagaram.

2. (Page 1.)

The text of the inscription of Dantivarman is published in *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 34 of 1888. I have examined the inscription on the spot and I give the text below.

"Dantivarma-Mahārājarkku yāṇḍu padinēḻāvadu Paramesvara-Vishṇugṛihattu Bhaṭārarkku Dantivarma-Mahārājar kuḍutta poṇ-bhājanam=oṇṟināl padināyira=kkaḻañju || Avani[cha]ndrar koṇḍuvandu kuḍutta mūvā[yira=kkaḻañju] poṇṇāl niśadi taṅgaḷ...... ....kkā........yum sōvaṟṟam payyar Nāraṇakuṭṭiyum Avani[chandrarkku]=kkaraṇamākiya Koṟṟampaḍai=ttantira Seṭṭu Tāḻiyum iṇṇālvarum mahānagarattārayum i=[Ā]inalūr kiḻavarayum Kēśava kkō........".

The inscription is damaged at the end.

3. (Page 1.)

Sketches of the sculptural representations of Vishṇu in his various aspects and incarnations found in the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ temple are contained in plates[3] LXIX, LXX, LXXI, LXXII, LXXIII, LXXIV, LXXV, LXXXI and LXXXII. They consist chiefly of the Varāha, Narasiṁha, Vāmana and Trivikrama *avatāras* of Vishṇu.

Between these representations we also find portrait sculptures of two sets of kings and queens but unfortunately they are all much damaged. Nearly all the sculptures around the *garbhagriha* carry on them thick coatings of plaster.

4. (Pages 6 and 7.)

Vālmīki, the author of the *Rāmāyaṇa* was so named because his penance (*tapas*) was so severe and of such a long duration that an ant-hill (*valmīka*) grew round him and he was oblivious of it. Hence the idea of an ant-hill is usually associated with severe *tapas*.

Sculptural representations of the legend of the descent of the Ganges seem to have been a favourite of sculptors of the Pallava period. The earliest representation of Gaṅgādharamūrti is found on the rock-cut cave of Mahendravarman in Trichinopoly. But the most remarkable representation of *Gaṅgāvataraṇa* is the one at Māmallapuram. In one of the northern shrines[4] of the Kailāsanātha temple, Gaṅgādharamūrti is represented with Bhagīratha at *tapas*. At

[1] *Tamil Studies*, p. 301.
[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, pp. 152 ff.
[3] Rea's *Pallava Architecture*.
[4] Rea's *Pallava Architecture*, Pl. XLIV, Fig. 2.

the feet of Bhagīratha we have a worshipper. This picture may be compared with the Vaikuṇṭha-perumāḷ sculpture.

5. (Page 12.)

A Grant of Nandivarman I.

This copper-plate grant was first edited by the Rev. T. Foulkes in the *Indian Antiquary* (Vol. VIII, pp. 167 *et seq.*) where he described it as " a land grant on three thin plates of copper $8\frac{3}{4}''$ long, $2\frac{5}{8}''$ wide and about $\frac{1}{16}''$ thick. They are united by a sealed ring 3" in diameter and made of $\frac{3}{8}''$ copper-rod. The seal is 3" in diameter; and has a standing bull in relief, surrounded by an obliterated inscription. The inscription of the grant occupies the two inner sides of the two outer plates, and both sides of the middle plate. It is written in bold, well-formed letters of the Pallava character, as it may now fairly claim to be called; it is in the Sanskrit language and all but the concluding verses is in prose form. The first plate has an endorsement in five lines, of more recent date, in archaic Tamil characters, and in the Tamil language in prose form.

" The ring has been cut, apparently some time ago; and it is therefore probable that an impression of the plates has already been taken or attempted.

" It is a grant of four pieces of waste or forest-land attached to the village of Kāñchivāyil, to Kuḷa-Śarman, a Brahman resident of that village, by Nandivarman, king of the Pallavas in the first year of his reign.

" The endorsement records the mutual decision of the village of Kāñchivāyil (which had by this time come to be called Ikaṇmaṟaimaṅgalam) and Udayachandramaṅgalam formally assembled in council, to unite together to form a single village-unity. It is dated in the twenty-sixth year of the reign of the Choḷa king Kopparakesarivarman."

Regarding some of the errata of the plates, Rev. T. Foulkes considered them as mere clerical errors of the artisan engraver and at the same time pointed out the influence of the Tamil language on the composer of these plates. He did not doubt the genuineness of the plates either on these grounds or for the reason that it contained an endorsement belonging to a period much later than the date to which the original record falls.

It was Prof. Kielhorn who, on very inadequate grounds, expressed the belief that this grant may be a spurious one. On the other hand, there are strong reasons to consider the record as a true one.

(1) This grant, like some of other grants of the Pallavas, is issued from their capital Kāñchī.

(2) There are no discrepancies in the text except perhaps the apprehension that the genealogy may not fit into the proper genealogy of the Pallavas.

(3) The introduction to the grant is of the same type as in the early Pallava records, *i.e.*, the Uruvapalli, Māṅgaḍūr and Omgōḍu grants.

(4) The seal of the grant, like all other Pallava seals, bears the bull with a much worn and illegible inscription round the margin. The bull is standing as in the seal of the British Museum plates of Chārudevī.

(5) The genealogy of these plates fits in with the Pallava genealogy, so far as it has been worked. It is clear that there were three Pallava kings by name Nandivarman who ruled the kingdom (each in his turn). The present grant obviously relates to the reign of the earliest of them, Nandivarman I. In addition, a contemporary record belonging to the early Gaṅga dynasty throws light on the genealogy of the present Pallava plates. The Penukoṇḍa plates of Mādhava II state that there were two Pallava kings, Siṁhavarman and Skandavarman, father and son. This is clearly in agreement with the succession list given in the Udayēndiram plates of Nandivarman I. Therefore, the genealogy presents no difficulty.

(6) Now, the difference in palæography between the early Pallava grants like the Uruvapalli and the Māṅgaḍūr plates and the record in question is not very marked. I think it does compare well with the Pallava plates mentioned above except that the Udayēndiram record is inscribed in larger letters than usual.

Dr. Kielhorn himself admitted that the alphabet employed in the Tamil post-script actually belongs to the time of Parāntaka I. Likewise the alphabet of the Grantha portion undoubtedly belongs to the fifth century A.D.

Excepting the mistakes in the orthography noticed by Foulkes and Kielhorn, there is nothing in the inscription calculated to raise a doubt regarding its genuineness. The peculiarities in the orthography are nothing more than scribal errors due to the engraver not having had a sufficient grounding in Sanskrit orthography.

Since the endorsement speaks of the two villages of Kāñchivāyil and Udayachandramaṅgalam as having been amalgamated into one village, naturally this fact is recorded on a former grant, namely, the Pallava record, which spoke of the village of Kāñchivāyil as a separate unit.

6. (Page 32).

It is believed that the reign of Rājasiṁha did not witness any warfare. However from the sculptures of the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ temple we are able to gather that his rule was marked by some disturbance probably towards the end of the reign and just before the coronation of Paramēśvaravarman II. This piece of evidence is supported firstly by his (Rājasiṁha's) *birudas* which glorify him as a mighty Kshatriya and a great wrestler. In the inscriptions of his temple Rājasiṁheśvaragṛiham he is described as *śrī-Aparājitaḥ, srī-Amitramallaḥ, srī-Arimardanaḥ* and *śrī-Āhavakēsari.* In his oft-quoted *praśasti* he is known as the great wrestler—and as one who is always victorious in battle (*Raṇajayaḥ*). Secondly by a foreign source, namely a Chinese text, we learn that

> "In the year 720 A.D. the King of the kingdom of South India, Chelittna-lo-seng-kia (śrī Narasiṁhā) proposed to employ his war elephants and his cavalry to chastise the Ta-che (Arabs) as well as the T'ou-po (Tibetans) and others. Moreover, he asked that a name be given to his army; the emperor praised it greatly and named his army " the army which cherished virtue ".[1]

So far we have not obtained any internal evidence to support that Rājasiṁha led any expedition against the Arabs and the Tibetans. However it is not unlikely that he had some northern enemy whom he defeated. In this connection we may refer to a note by Krishna Śāstri who has suggested that in the period of Rājasiṁha the Pallava dominion was ambitious enough to extend to the distant islands.[2]

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[1] Chavannes: Notes additionnelles sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) Occidentaux, *T'oung Pao* II, 5: See K. A. Nilakanta Sastri—*Foreign Notices of South India*, intro., page 16, and text, pp.116—117.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 152, Note I.

APPENDIX I.

(*See* pp. 33 ff.)

Section A.[1]

1. Svasti Śrī [|| *] Ivvagayē Brahman=ādi-āga vārāniṉṟa **Pallava-vaṁśattuḷ Paramēśvarap-Pōttaraiyar** svarggasthar=āvadu | Rājyam=utsannam[ā*]ka m[ā*]ttrakaḷu[m*] ghaṭa-kayāru[m*] mūlaprakṛitiyu[m*]

2 K[ā*]ṭavēśakula-**Hiraṇyavarmma-Mah[ā*]r[ā*]jar**=aḍekka rāja[bha]ram grahakka samartthar=ubhayakula-pariśuddhar [gōvaḷa]=ppottagav=eṉṟu viḍugapaḍu ... pōnda iḍam ||

Section B.

1 Apparikar vandu Hiraṇyavarmma-Mahārājaraik=kāṇa avar nīṅgaḷ pōndavāṟeṉ=eṉa

2 rājyam=utsannam=āyadu ... hikka-[māṭṭādu] ubhayakula-pariśuddha nī pōttara eṉṟu śoṉṉa iḍam ||

Section C.

1 Adu kē[ṭṭu] Hiraṇyavarmma-Mahārājar kulamallarayu[m*] kūvi viṉava ārum pōkār-ākat-tam makkaḷ **Śrīmallanu Raṇamallanu Saṁkrāmamallanu Pallavamallanu** eṉ-

2 bārgaḷai vinava kuḍu enbār niṉṟu tām rājyam śeya vara nām pōkōm=eṉbat=tām ttāmta[p*]pa p=[Palla]vamallan-āna **Paramēśvara**[n*] nān pōvan=eṉṟu toḻudu niṉṟa iḍam ||

Section D.

1 Adu kēṭṭu **Khāṭakakula**[m*] śiṟakka tōṉṟiya śatyānvita-suputran rājyañ-śeyap=pōkaṉṟāṉ=eṉnu harshayālu[m*] pirivin santāpattālu[m*] amṛitamun-na[ñji] kalandan[na] hṛida-yattaṉ=āgi eṉ magaṉ

2 **panniraṇḍu vayattaṟ** bālaṉai pōkkēṉ=eṉa viddhā[ga]mikar=āṉa **Taṟaṇḍikoṇḍa-Pōśar**=ivaṉ Mahāvishṇuvay prārddavañ-śeydāṉ Chakravartti āvā=ṉī varundēl=eṉṟu nilai koḷvikkā .. iḍam ||

Section E.

1 Idu Hiraṇyava[2] . . . . . karūr kaṟiyakaḷiṟiṉṟa[la]y

2 . . . . koḷga eṉṟa iḍam ||

Section F.

1 Aturaṇaru śēvakaṉ=iḍuvitta kkē[[kuvir] idu kaḷiṟiṉ-ṟalay=aṉṟu nuṉ makanuḍaya mukuṭaṅgaḷ=[i]vayi

2 eṉṟu Taṟaṇḍikoṇḍa-Pōśar Hiraṇyavarmma-Mahārājarkkuch=cholla avar pīdi [vi]ḍu iḍam ||

Section G.

1 Idu Hiraṇyavarmma-Mahārājarun-Taṟaṇḍikoṇḍa-Pōśarum viḍai koḍukkach-chivikai

2 mēṉiṉṟum=iḻindu toḻudu-kiḍandu viḍai koḷḷu[ki*]ṉṟa iḍam ||

Section H.

1 Aṅgu-niṉṟum pōndu pala giri-nadi-vana-gahana[ṁ]gaḷaik-kaḻindu varugiṉṟamai kēṭṭu **Pallavadi-āraiyar** edirēy

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[1] [The text of the inscription (*S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 135) has been revised on the spot by Mr. A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar, Epigraphical Assistant. The importance of the record is discussed by Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar, B. A., in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 117f.—Ed.]

[2] This section is very much damaged.

2. mahābalattōḍum vandu yāṉai ēṟṟikkoṇḍu **Kāñchīpura**-mahānagarattu ... ga maṟindu pōnda iḍam ||

SECTION I.

varāṇai varugiṉ[ṟa]mai kēṭṭu mahāsāmantarun=Nagarattāru[m*] mūlaprakṛitiyu[m*] **Kāḍakka-Muttarayarum**=edir-vandu kōyil koṇḍu puganda iḍam ||

SECTION J.

Mantri-maṇḍalamu[m*] mahāsāmantarum ubhayagaṇattayāruṅ=ghaṭakayāru[ṅ*] kūḍi **Nandiva[r]mmaṉ**=eṉṟu abhishēkañ-ṡeydu tērkkēy chchatri-karivayum **Samudraghōshamu[m*]**
2 [a . ra] **Khaṭvāṅgad-dhvajamu[m*]** **Vṛishaba-lāñchchanamu[m*]**=iṟaka ... ḍikaḷāṟ-kūṭṭi **Viḍēviḍug**=eṉṉun-tiruvāṇai naḍāvi abhishēkañ-ṡeydirunda iḍam ||

SECTION K.

1 Iṅgē Perumāṇaḍigaḷ=āgi rājyañ-ṡey[yā]niṟka .... mantrikaḷu[m*] mūlaprakṛitiyu[m*] ji ... nikayu[m*] parākram-ōtsāhamuḍaya Śrī-
2 chalu[1] . . . . ḷka eṉṟu . . . . . iḍam ||

SECTION L.[2]

1 Avvagaiyē irundu pōṉa durdhukkamāka . . . . . . ya kaṇḍā
2 . . (damaged) . . . .

SECTION M.[2]

1 Avvagaiyē . . . . ṟu svaraṅgaṇḍār kūṭṭiya nipuṇargaḷ śuddha-
2 vaṟkaḷḷanē . . . . iva . .

---

[1] [Dr. C. Minakshi reads here 'Chalukki Vikramāditta'; but it is difficult to read these words from the existing traces.—Ed.]

[2] Sections L and M are very much damaged, and only a few letters here and there are decipherable.

APPENDIX II.

(*See* page 38.)

The Udayēndiram Grant of Nandivarman Pallava-malla.

It was Rev. T. Foulkes who edited this copper-plate grant, first in the *Indian Antiquary* (Vol. VIII, pp. 273 *et seq.*) and then in the *Manual of the Salem District* (Vol. II, pp. 355 *et seq.*). Dr. E. Hultzsch re-edited the same in the *South Indian Inscriptions* (Vol. II, part III, pp. 361 *et seq.*).

These copper-plates, according to both Rev. Foulkes and Dr. Hultzsch, are five in number and are strung on a ring which is cut and bears a circular seal. "This contains, in high relief, on a counter-sunk surface, a recumbent bull, which faces the proper right and is placed on a pedestal between two lamps."

The inscription consists, first a grant of Pallava-malla in Sanskrit and Grantha characters and secondly, an endorsement of the Choḷa king Madiraikoṇḍa Parakesarivarman (dated in his 26th year) the text of which is identical with the endorsement of the same king on the Udayēndiram plates of Nandivarman I.

Dr. Hultzsch suspected the genuineness of these plates and said that they may be a forgery, for which he assigned certain reasons. His primary observation was that the Grantha and Tamil alphabet of both the portions of the inscription is considerably more modern than that of the other grants; and as a consequence, these plates are either a forgery or a copy made at a later date, of two inscriptions—one of Nandivarman Pallava-malla and the other of Madiraikoṇḍa Parakesarivarman.

A second flaw which he observed in the inscription is that Nandivarman Pallava-malla is called, not the successor of Parameśvaravarman, but his son; therefore, this fact is at variance with the statement in the Kaśākuḍi plates. Consequently, Dr. Hultzsch concludes that here is another point inducing one to stamp the Udayēndiram plates as a forgery.

Further, according to line 64 of this plate, the donees should be 108 in number, but the actual number is, however, only 63, and that of the shares, 133. This discrepancy is, according to Dr. Hultzsch, a third point suggesting that the inscription is a forged one.

A facsimile of the inscription is produced by Rev. Foulkes in *Indian Antiquary* (Vol. VII, p. 275) and a study of the alphabets definitely indicates that the writing belongs to a later period than that of the other grants of Pallava-malla. Besides, the writing looks as if it was inscribed by one single hand. However, this does not necessarily mean that the inscription is a forgery or a spurious one.

The second defect might have been only a slip of the engraver, or perhaps Nandivarman out of sheer love and respect for his predecessor Parameśvaravarman, might have called himself as his (adopted) son.

The absence of the remaining donees may be explained thus: These sets evidently being a later copy of an original (true) grant, it is just possible that before the copy was made, one inscribed plate belonging to the original set was lost. Probably, the plate after the fourth and the fifth was lost, and it is perhaps this that induced the later copyist to number the present plates in order to ensure safety. We are definitely told that the ring of the present plates was found cut when it was discovered, and we do not know when this was done. It may be that the set was not entire at the time of its recovery and that one plate had already been lost.

Considering these explanations and the fact that the incidents described in the grant fit very well into the history of the Pallavas, I have no hesitation in admitting that the present plates are a reliable copy of the genuine ancient grant.

The endorsement must have been written on the original plates in the 26th year of Madiraikoṇḍa Parakeśarivarman, because the Pallava record speaks of the villages of Kāñchivāyil and Udayachandramaṅgalam which had united into one village in the time of the Choḷa king.

APPENDIX III.

Royal Abhishekas or Coronations.

The series of *abhisheka* or coronation sculptures which is a unique feature of the Vaikuṇṭha-perumāḷ panels has really offered the key to the assumption that the entire group of sculptures found on all the walls of the *verandah* of the temple are essentially historical in their theme. A study of these *abhisheka* scenes reveals that the form of representation and the style adopted in portraying them are almost identical with one another though other minor or minute details may differ.

The kings who are the chief interest in these *abhisheka* panels are all portrayed big in size and appear seated majestically on a throne or *āsana* with their legs hanging down and their two hands leaning on their thighs, indicating a noble bearing. This seems to be the usual mode adopted in a conventionalized form in representing the *abhishekas* of both gods and kings in the early art of South India. (*Vide* Lakṣmī or Gaja-Lakṣmī, Varāha-maṇḍapa, Mamallapuram; Sugrīva-paṭṭābhisheka, Rāmāyaṇa sculptures, Nāgeśvarasvāmi temple, Kumbakonam.)

The kings who are the centre of each of these coronation sculptures appear wearing across their breasts a cross band which may be said to resemble a *chhannavīra*. Usually this ornament is described as a sort of double *yajñopavītas* and is said to pass over either of the shoulders cross-wise and fastened in the middle of the breast and back. But the cross band worn by the Pallava kings in the *abhisheka* panels differs from the description given of *chhannavīra* in that the former passes over the arms also. It is a noteworthy fact that this cross band is indeed a *sine qua non* of the Pallava kings at the time of their coronations. And they do not seem to have worn this ornament on other occasions. This characteristic ornament of the Pallava kings may be described as an *ubhaya-vaikakshika* as different from a *chhannavīra*. (Pl. XXII, *b*.)

Besides the cross band other jewels such as *kuṇḍalas*, *keyūras*, *upagrīvas* and *hāras* also appear on the person of the king. The actual ceremony of the coronation is performed by two men apparently Brahmans standing one on either side of the king in the act of either placing the crown on the head of the king or pouring the sacred water from chanks or pots. The paraphernalia of the kings consisting of ministers and officials, elephants and horses are also depicted in certain panels, while in others we have two or three riders on the backs of elephants holding in their hands *kumbhas* of sacred water. (Pl. XXI, *c*.) Yet in a few others we have enthusiastic spectators watching the ceremony from the balconies of certain buildings.

In his account on 'The Lingodbhavamūrti of Śiva of Indo-China', Dr. F. D. K. Bosch draws attention to an interesting sculptural representation of a royal *abhisheka* from Cambodia. The stone on which this sculpture is found, originally formed a lintel of the Vat En Khna and is now placed in the Albert Sarraut Museum. Dr. Bosch describes the panel as follows:—"Under the arch is depicted a procession of Brahmans and nobles who approach from both sides to a central personage who wears a high crown and is seated on a throne under a *maṇḍapa*."

I do not believe that these rows of men are carrying presents, as has been supposed. The round pots and narrow necked vessels which several of them carry in their hands are *kumbhas* bearing a clear resemblance to pots containing holy water which are in actual use in Bali. The Brahman just in front of the right side of the central personage is lifting the *kumbha* above the head of the latter, as if to pour water on him. His partner on the left makes a similar gesture with a conch. Now taking account of the fact that in India while administering the *abhisheka* one makes use of the *śankha* which ought to have its characteristic spiral turned to the right, there are good reasons for interpreting the scene as a royal *abhisheka*.

Interpreted in the light of the art of the several royal *abhisheka* sculptures of the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ temple, the Cambodian sculpture whose photograph by Dr. Bosch appears in the B. E. F. E. O., Vol for 1931, is undoubtedly a representation of a royal coronation.

The relationship that existed between the Pallava kingdom and Cambodia is amply borne out by the fact of the presence in Cambodia of the Pallava form of writing, their legends and their style of architecture. This royal *abhisheka* scene from Cambodia which approximates to the Pallava sculptures seen in the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ temple, is one more evidence of the cultural contact that prevailed then between these two countries.

Aśvamedha Sacrifices.

The triumph and honour which a prince or a king obtained as a result of the performance of an *Aśvamedha* sacrifice in ancient India, are usually described in the *praśasti* of the copper-plates or inscriptions of the kings concerned. Rarely do we find pictorial representations of the sacrifice in Indian art, much less in the case of South Indian art. The *Aśvamedha* horse adorned the coins of the great Gupta emperor Samudragupta, but the actual performances of *Aśvamedha-yajñas* of some of the Pallava kings are beautifully depicted on the walls of the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ temple. Of the entire series of sculptures only three panels depict the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice. It is to be noted that it is the early charters of the Pallavas that make references to the performance of the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice; and the panels of the temple are in agreement with the charters, as all the three pictorial representations are depicted in the beginning of these sculptural series to suggest that they were performed by the early kings of the Pallava dynasty.

Of the three panels noted above, one has been assigned to the early Pallava king Kumāravishṇu, while the other two have been ascribed to Nandivarman I, though from the copper-plates of the Pallavas we get no information regarding the performance of *Aśvamedha* sacrifices by Nandivarman I. These panels are particularly valuable as they supply additional information about Nandivarman's reign, not found in the copper-plates. The convention adopted in portraying the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice is as follows :—(1) The *yūpa* or the sacrificial post is depicted in the form of a vertical band with a curvature on the top. (2) The beautifully adorned horse is fastened to the *yūpa* by a string tied around its body. (Pl. XXIII, *c*.) (3) The performer of the sacrifice is resting on his knees and holds in his extended right hand some grass for the horse to nibble at and from the *chhatra* which is seen held over his head, we know that he is certainly the king. (Pl. XXIII, *d*.) In the upper register is usually found the *yājin* seated in the *dhyāna* attitude. To his right, is seated the queen, excepting in one panel where the queen is seated to the left of the king. In one of the panels relating to Nandivarman I, the priest is seated in front of the royal performer. On the whole, the *Aśvamedha* panels are not only highly valuable, but are also extremely striking.

Warfare.

Of the four traditional divisions of the army—chariots, elephants, horses and footmen—the first is not found represented in the panels. It can therefore be assumed that for martial purposes the chariots were not in use. The war elephants are portrayed full of realism and appear vigorous, robust and strong. Very artistically adorned elephants bearing *howdas* on them (Pl. XXII,*a*) are seen frequently in the panels, with the *mahouts* seated on their necks wielding the *aṅkuśa* in their hands. Innumerable horses have been used in warfare and fierce cavalry engagements are portrayed with great realism. The infantry is seen in fight with the enemy and are portrayed with war weapons, such as javelins, swords of different types, shields, staves, etc. (Pl. XXIII, *a*). The Pallava soldiers wear garments which resemble the modern shorts, and the upper portion of their bodies are left uncovered.

Siṁhāsanas or Thrones.

The *siṁhāsanas* are exquisitely executed and three different types may be seen in the panels. One type is adorned by lions as well as the *makara* motif (Pl. XXIV, *d*). The workmanship of the lions on the thrones are more or less identical with those found on the thrones of the Buddha. (*Vide* the statue of Buddha, Sarnath Museum.) Another type has the *makara* motif without the lions (Pl. XXII, *f*), and the third type has the lions alone without the *makara* motif (Pl. XXII, *c*). Though these appear to have been made of wood, it is difficult to say what material was used for their construction.

Sitting Posture of Kings and Queens.

The sitting postures of the various Pallava kings and queens are very graceful and majestic, and they are generally seen in the *mahārājalīlā* and *sukhāsana* poses. In the panels depicting religious scenes, the kings are seated in the *dhyāna* and the *vajrāsana* attitudes. In a particular panel, Nandivarman I after performing the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice sits in the *mahārājalīlā* pose. The dignity exhibited in the face and the happy and contented look of the royal performer are at once very impressive.

In another panel the queen of Narasiṁhavarman I is seen with both her legs hanging down, while her left hand is holding a flower by its stem raised aloft. The king is seated on her left in the *mahārājalīlā* pose and is listening to somebody. The whole scene presents a beauty and homeliness which is unparalleled.

King's Crowns.

Typical Pallava conical crowns (Pl. XXII, *e*), both ornamented and otherwise, are worn by the royal personages depicted in these panels. The queens are also wearing the same kind of crowns but a little simpler in design. The kings (as in the case of Pallava-malla) change their crowns to an artistic turban when in the midst of fight (Pl. XXII, *g*). The ministers wear a turban which is distinct from those of others; the king's turbans worn on ordinary occasions may be said to resemble these ministerial turbans.

Turbans.

Turbans of various patterns (Pl. XXIII, *b*) have been in use among the people of the different classes. The minister's turbans pass in two folds crosswise on the head with a tassel hanging loosely on the side. Two knob-like projections also appear as ornaments on the top of these turbans. All the feudatory chiefs wear only turbans. A long piece of cloth is neatly tied round the head with a conical projection at one end of the head resembling a modern *Punjabi* turban. Ordinary Brahmans wear their hair tied into a knot and thrown on one side of the head, whereas the most venerable of them wear their hair parted in the middle and have their tresses hanging loose behind. The Priests are seen with thick *jaṭās*, as is the case now in South India.

Jewellery.

The kings wear crowns, armlets, wristlets, *upagrīvas*, *patrakuṇḍalas*, *ubhayavaikakshika*, *yajñopavītas* and *rudrākshamālās*. The queens adorn themselves with simple chains set with gems, *upagrīvas*, armlets and crowns. They are usually represented nude except in certain cases when they are seen wearing a short garment with folds hanging down to their knees. The ministers wear some jewels which are not usually found on other persons. Their under-garment passes between their legs. Only a limited number of jewels are visible on the persons of the ordinary men and women.

Household Articles.

This includes cots, chairs, vessels of different shapes probably made of gold, as well as big jars. There are panels where the feudatories are seen bringing presents before the king in beautiful plates, and sometimes precious gems are placed in front of the king in cups of various shapes. In a particular panel is represented a cot which is very similar to a modern cot found in the Telugu Districts.

Gods and Human Beings.

In tracing the divine origin of the Pallava dynasty and representing the same on the walls of the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ temple, gods such as Vishṇu and Brahmā appear in the beginning of these sculptures and *ṛishis* such as Aṅgiras and Bṛihaspati, etc., are also delineated. The gods are uniformly portrayed with four hands, whereas the human beings are represented with two hands. But in one place, Śiva is represented with two hands and in another place Vishṇu is represented as an ordinary human being. Why? Since all these sculptures are historical in theme, the sculptors must have thought that the sudden introduction of four hands would baffle the on-looker and hence must have made the gods also look more realistic by adopting the early convention of the Pallava artists. Śiva as Somāskanda is very often represented with four hands in early Pallava art, and the statue of Vishṇu in the Mahishāsuramarddanī-Maṇḍapa at Māmallapuram possesses only two hands.

The human beings, both men and women, are represented full of life and energy, and the correct emotions expressed by their facial expressions are beautifully maintained by the artists. Royal couples whispering to one another, ordinary men and women embracing each other in fear of an impending invasion of an army, are some of the most touchy scenes found in the sculptures of the temple. Old men and women are realistically represented, especially old Brahman priests entering the courts seeking royal patronage.

Feudatories.

A number of the feudatory chiefs of the Pallava kings are represented and they are often seen paying homage to their overlord. During the election of Pallava-malla to the throne the feudatory chiefs played an important part. They are shown in almost all the panels preceding the election, and they meet the king half way with all the royal paraphernalia and also take part in the actual ceremony of coronation.

Apart from the feudatories, particular mention must be made of Udayachandra, the great general of Pallava-malla. He is represented as a great warrior leading the army in great triumph and joy. The soldiers shouting and screaming before him and behind him, and the drummer playing on the great drum the *Samudraghosha* are thrilling scenes that follow immediately the election of the young prince.

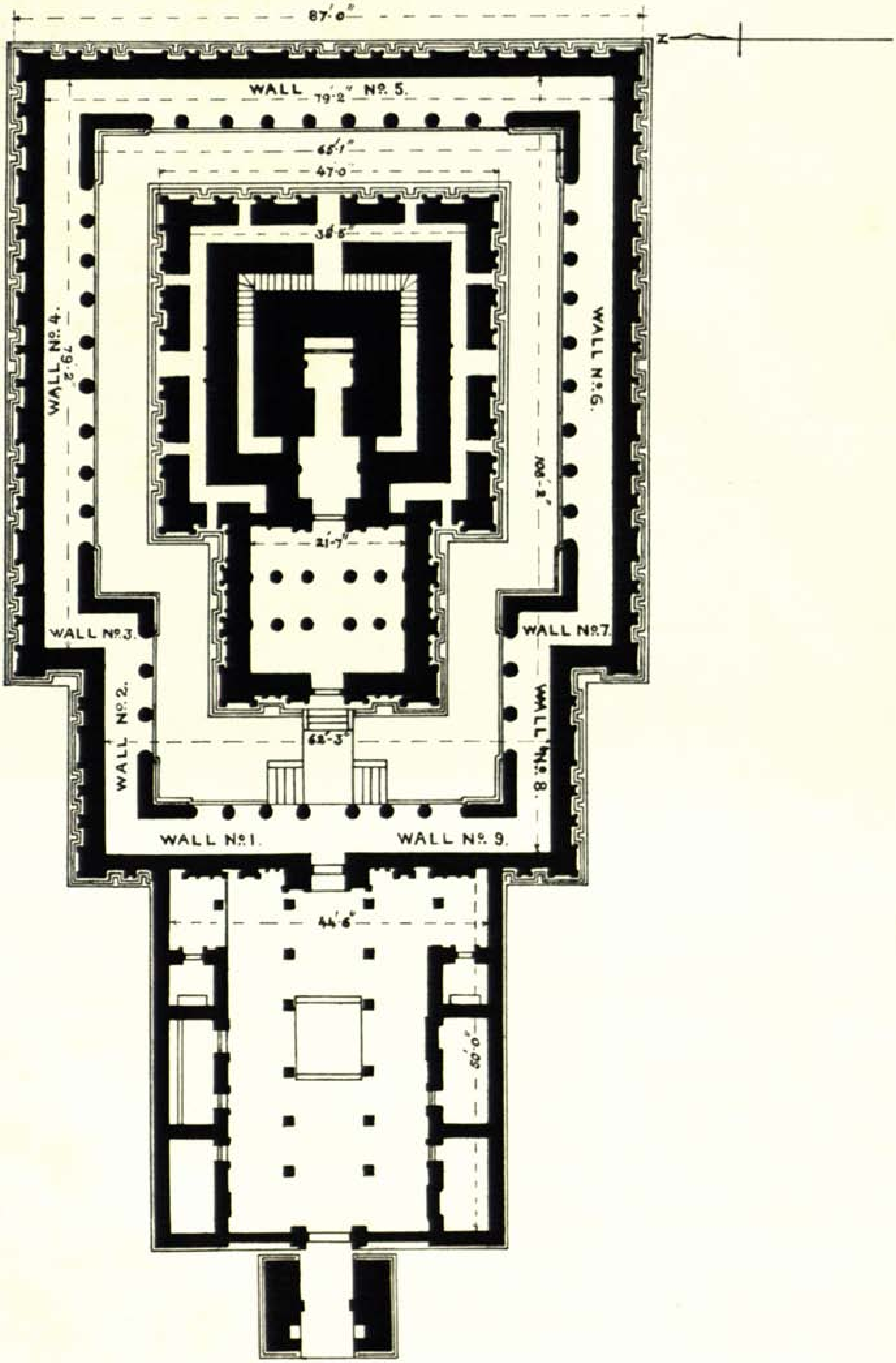
Temples.

Shrines small and big are sculptured on the walls of the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ temple. A *chaitya* is depicted in the sculptures, which I have assigned to the period of Buddhavarman. The temples found in these panels are undoubtedly the miniature representations of those temples built by the respective kings concerned in the sculptures under consideration. Apart from these temples which no doubt speak of the piety of the various kings, it is interesting to find that a whole series of panels exist throwing light on the religious policy of Pallava-malla. The significance of these has already been discussed in the text, and here it is enough to point out that it is but most natural on the part of the royal builder to seek to portray the progress of his favourite religion, Vaishṇavism, on the walls of the greatest monument of his, namely the, PARAMEŚVARA-VIṆNAGAR.

Pallava Chronology.

The various number of coronations in the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ panels and a complete study of them in relation to the sculptures that succeed each of these coronations, have thrown some light on Pallava chronology. The reconstruction of the chronology found in the texts has been made in the light of the facts collected from a study of these sculptures.

MGIPC—M—III-9-48—4-4-41—350.



Ground Plan of the Vaikunthaperumal Temple. Kanchi.

Photo.-Litho. Office Survey of India.



Paramesvara-Vinnagar alias The Vaikunthaperumal temple built by Nandivarman Pallava-malla, circa 750 A. D.

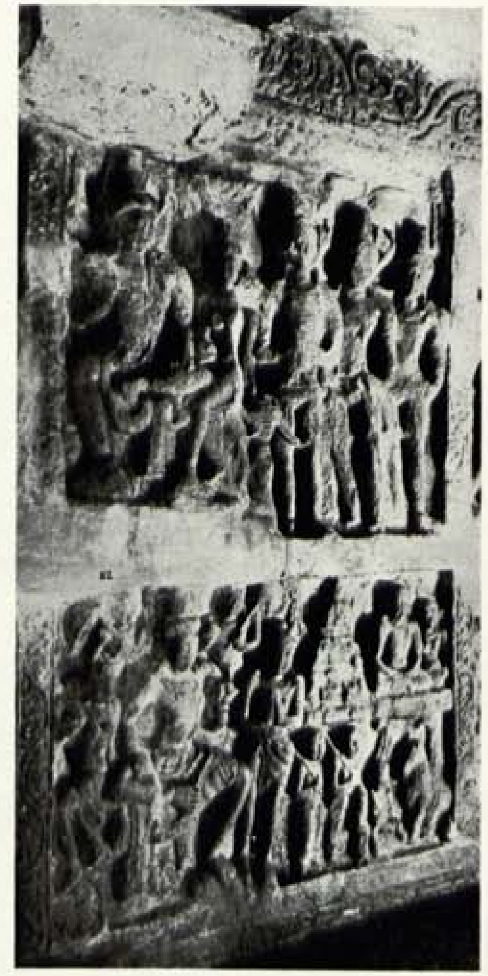
Photo.-Litho. Office Survey of India



1 Sculpture on the north wall of the Garbhagṛiha.



2 Birth of Pallava. 3 Coronation of Kumāravishṇu.



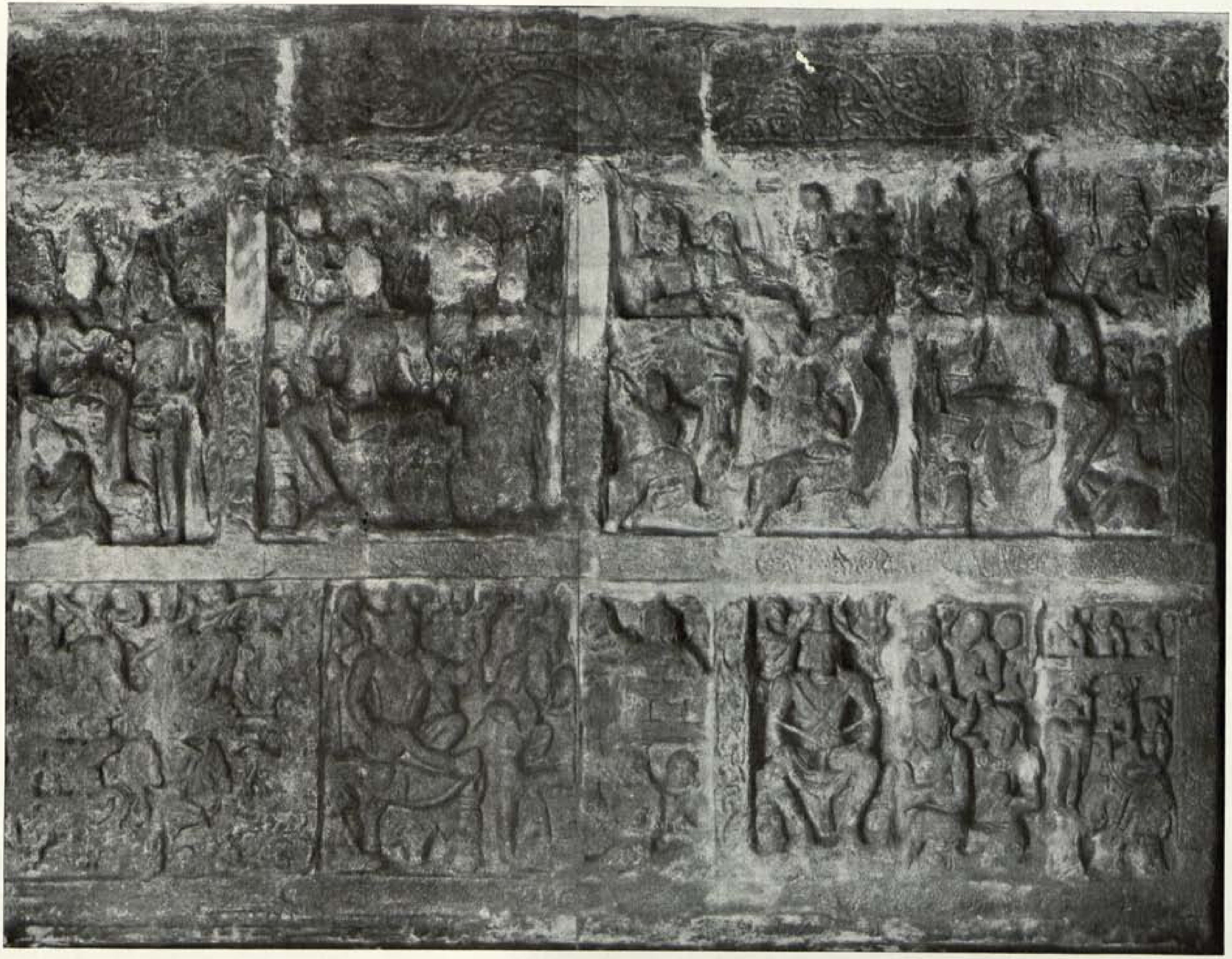
4 A royal couple. 5 Aśvamedha Sacrifice.

Photo.-Litho. Office, Survey of India.

1 Pallava race compared to Varāhāvatāra.

2 King seated on throne.

3 Left half unidentified, King seated on throne (right).

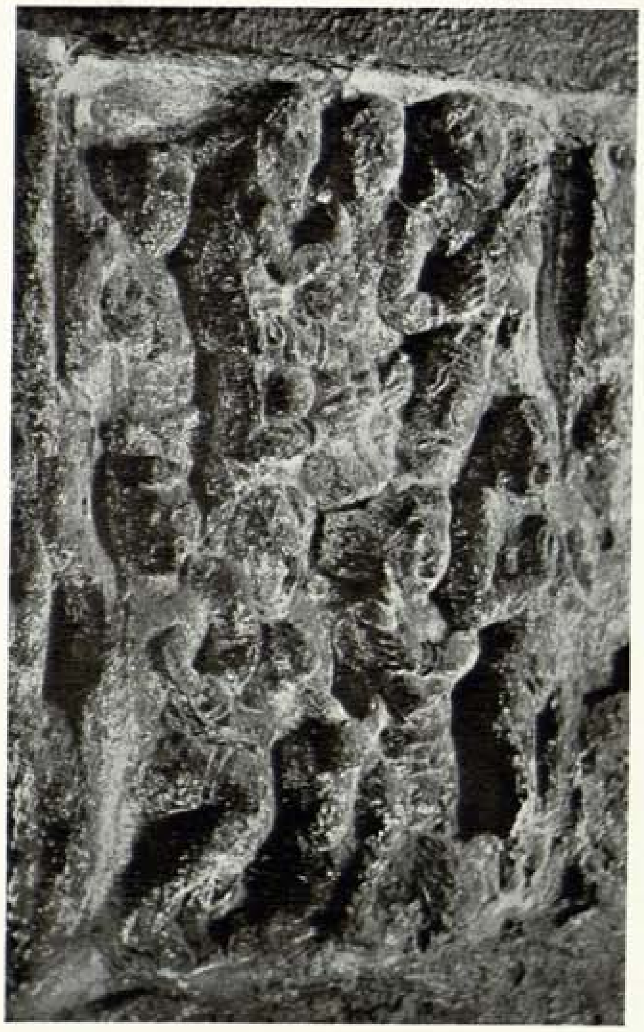


4 Marching of horses and elephants.

5 Buddhavarman (?) with a Chaitya (right).

6 Coronation of Nandivarman 1

Photo.-Litho. Office, Survey of India.



(*a*) Victor carried by a woman.



(*b*) Nandivarman I in worship and a man with flower basket.



(*c*) Hunting scene exhibiting Kshatriya valour.



(*d*) Coronation of Yuvamahārāja Vishṇugopavarman.

Photo.-Litho. Office, Survey of India.

PLATE VI

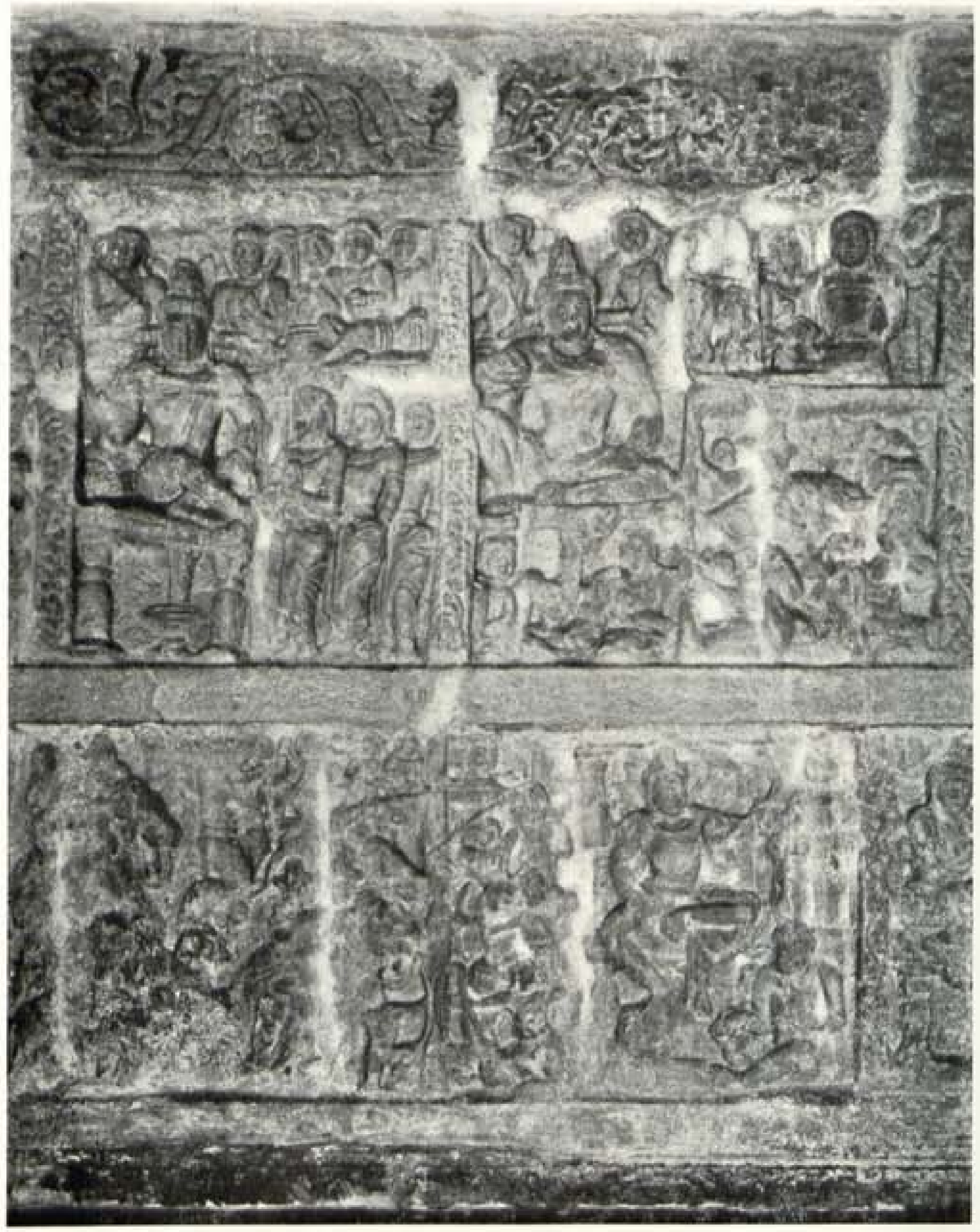
1 Nandivarman praying to Śiva. 2 Fight between Nandivarman and Phaṇīndra. 3 Capitulation of Phaṇīndra.



4 Scenes of warfare in the time of Siṁhavarman.

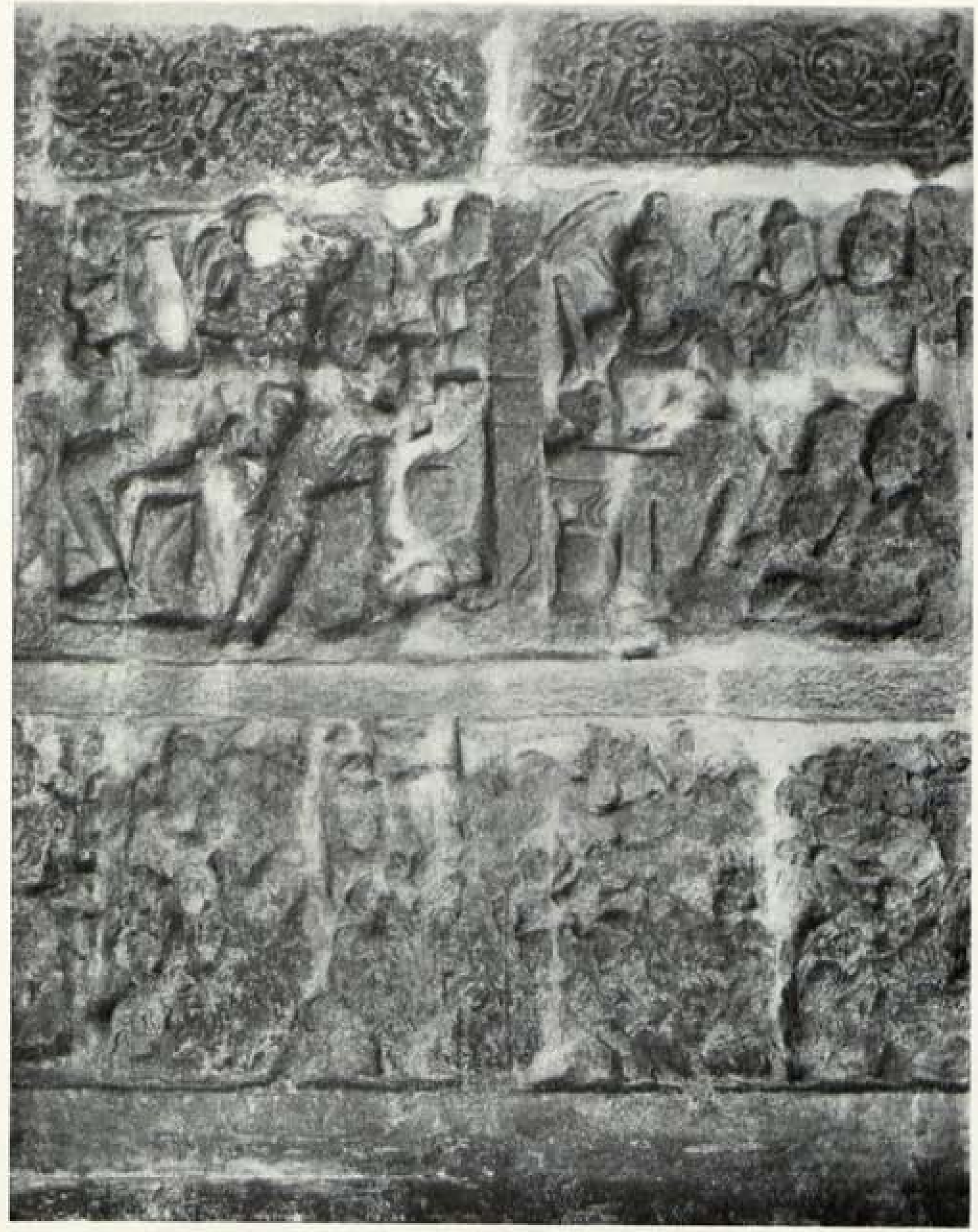
Photo.-Litho. Office, Survey of India.

1 Narasiṁhavarman I and Mānavamma of Ceylon.



2 Attack on Rājasiṁha's fortress.

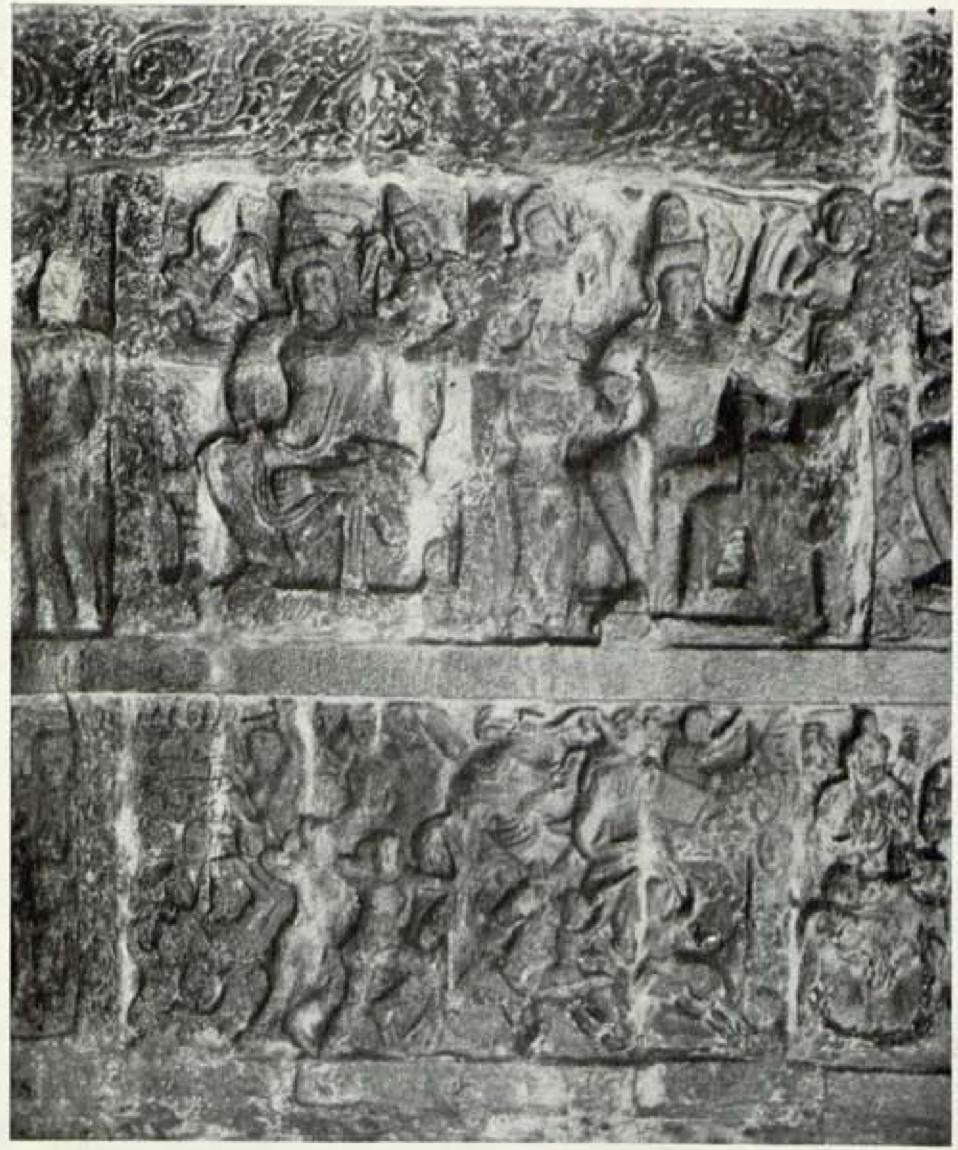
3 Lion fight in the court of Nandivarman I. 4 Nandivarman I in his court.



5 Marching of elephants and horses in the reign of Siṁhavarman II.

Photo.-Litho. Office, Survey of India.





1 Soldiers marching, fight with Chitramāya. 2 Nandivarman II hearing reports of battle. 3 Pallava cavalry marching.

4 Nandivarman I in his court. 5 Nandivarman holding club. 6 Attack on the King's camp.

Photo.-Litho. Office, Survey of India.



1 Horsemen at the gateway of the mansion.

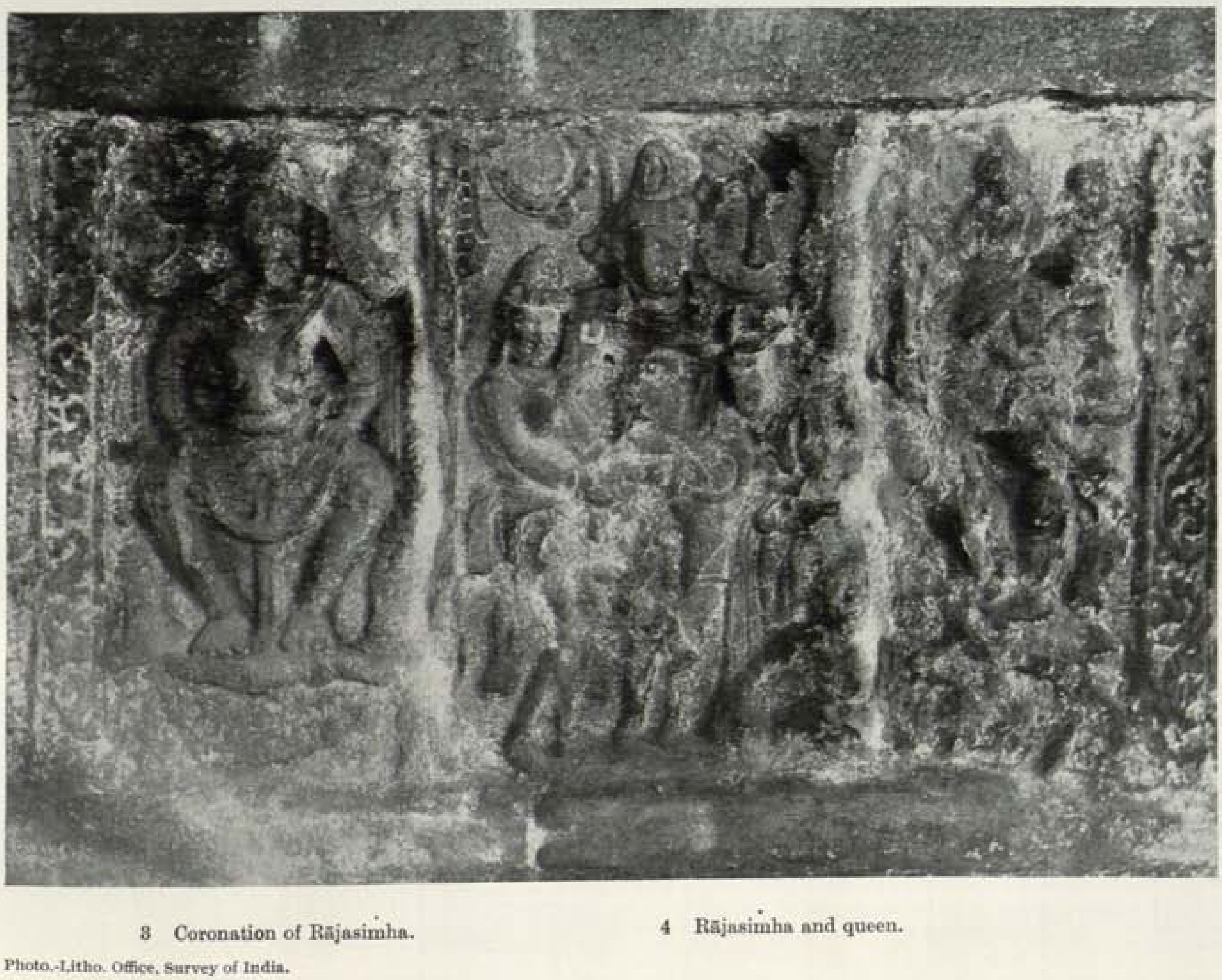


2 An unidentified scene. 3 Coronation of Simhavishnu.

Photo.-Litho. Office, Survey of India.



1 Coronation of Narasiṁhavarman I. 2 Narasiṁhavarman and queen (?) watching a battle.



3 Coronation of Rājasiṁha. 4 Rājasiṁha and queen.

Photo.-Litho. Office, Survey of India.



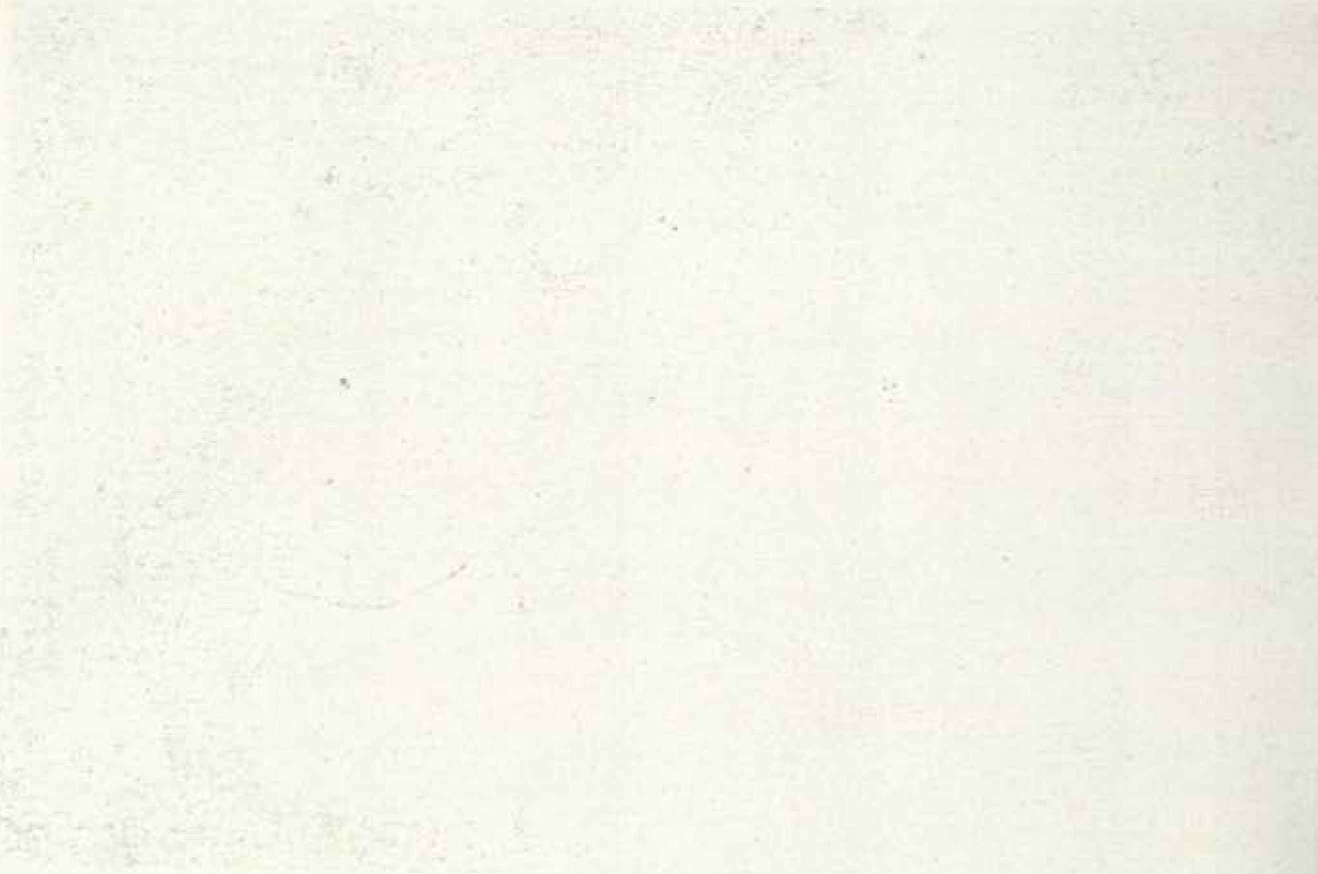
1 Siṁhavishṇu witnessing Bhimavarman's coronation.



2 Bhīmavarman as ruling king.

3 Coronation of Mahendravarman.

Photo.-Litho. Office Survey of India.



1 Continuation of scene (*Pl. IX, 3*). 2 Simhavishṇu and shrine.



3 Paramesvaravarman I's war with the Chālukyas.

4 Coronation of Paramesvaravarman I. 5 Paramesvaravarman I as a ruler.

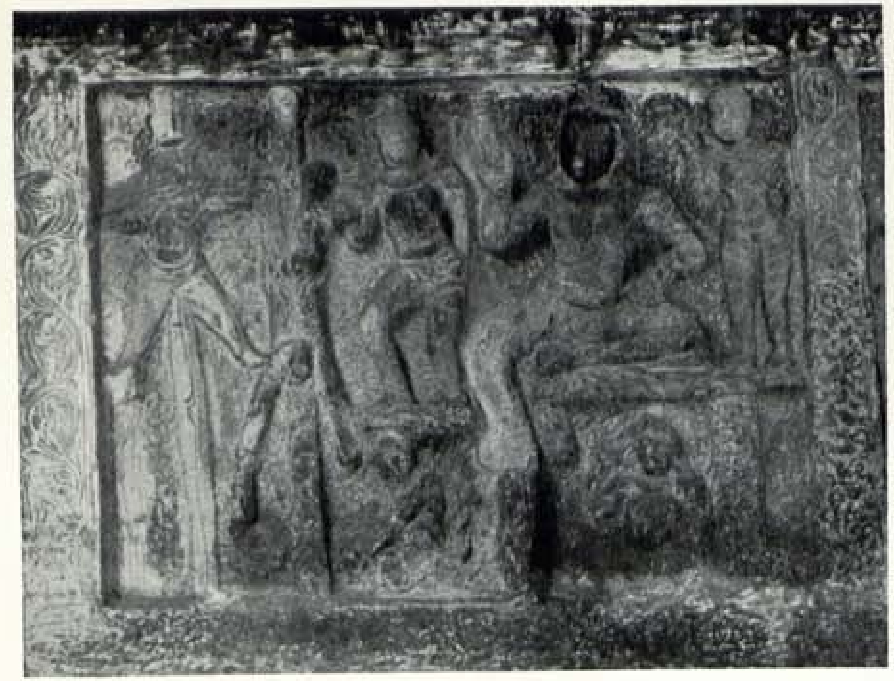


6 Wounded soldier being carried. 7 Coronation of Paramesvaravarman II.

Photo.-Litho. Office, Survey of India.



1 Narasimhavarman I and Siruttoṇḍar. 2 Contest between Mallas in the royal court.



5 Impalement.



3 Paramesvaravarman I and his queen in front of the Chālukya Palace.

4 Paramesvaravarman and Queen, soldiers marching (right).

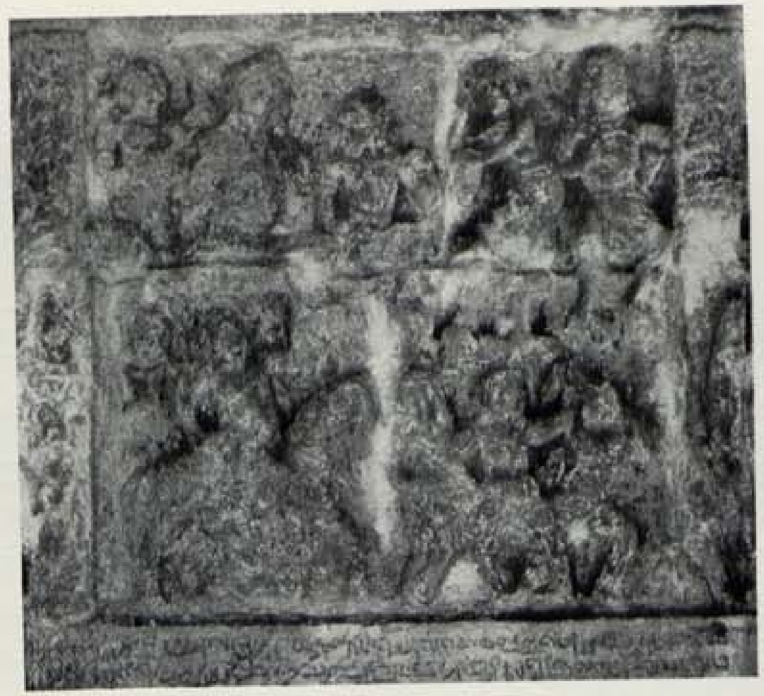


6 Narasimhavarman II and queen.

Photo.-Litho. Office, Survey of India.



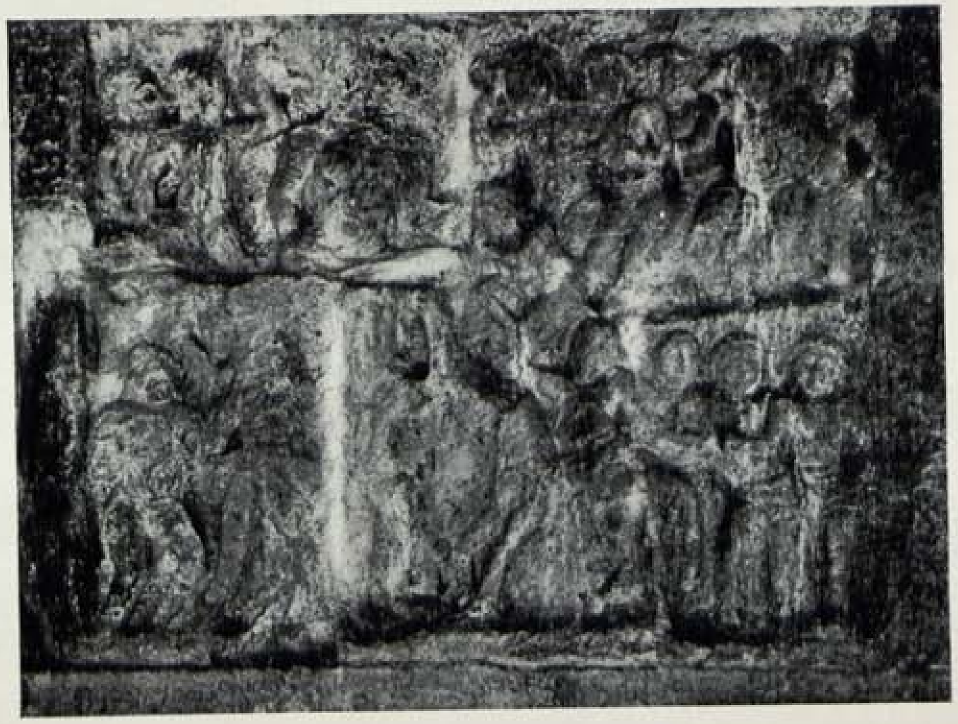
1 Dancing and wrestling.



3 Pallavamalla on his horse Śivigai.



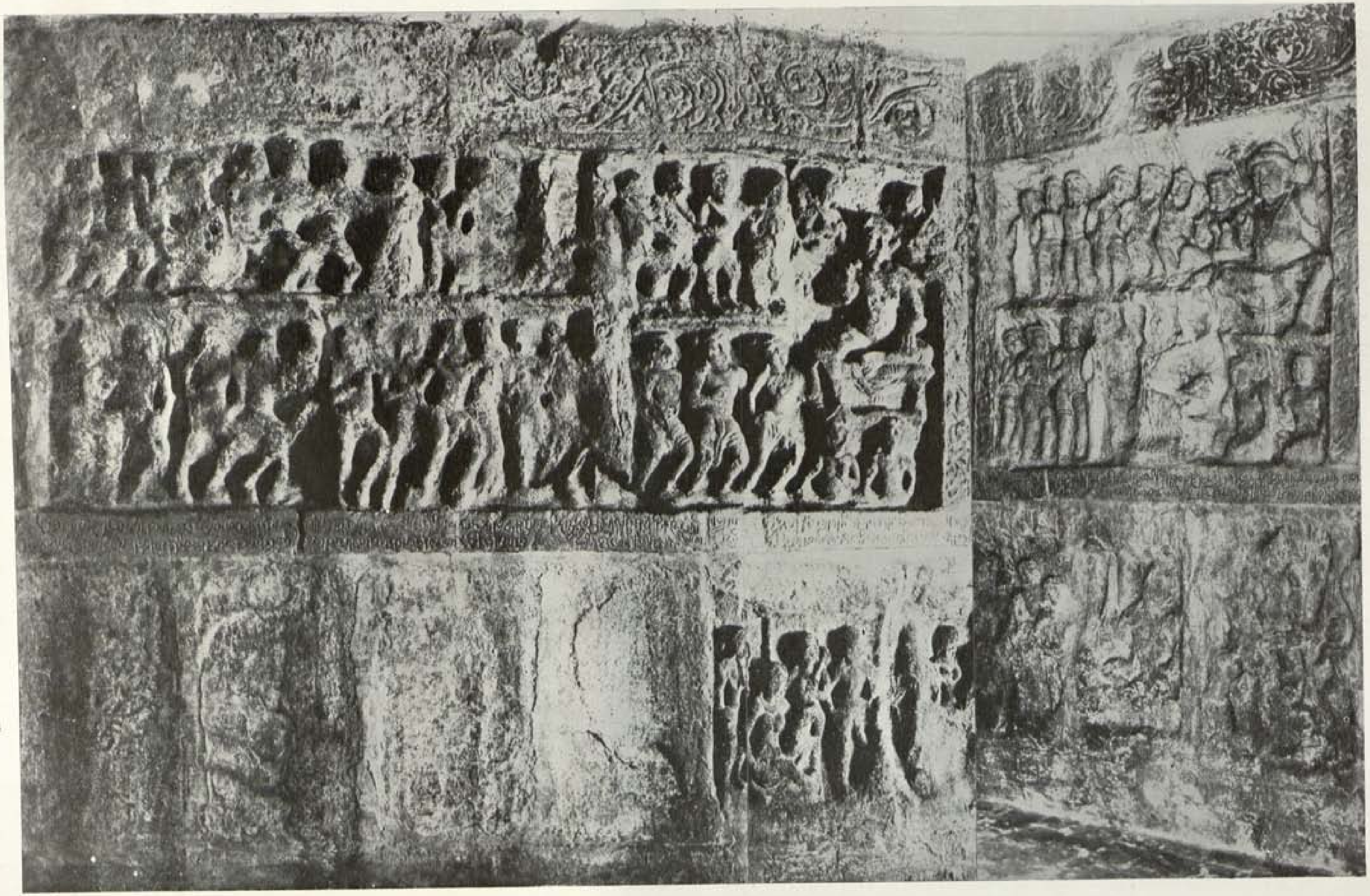
2 Pallava rule compared to the descent of the Ganges.



4 The feudatories meet Pallavamalla.

Photo.-Litho. Office, Survey of India.

1 2 3



4 5

1 The deputation. 2 The deputation waiting on Hiraṇyavarman. 3 Hiraṇyavarman and his sons. 4 Anarchy indicated by blank space. 5 Events preceding warfare.

Photo.-Litho. Office, Survey of India.

1 Capture of Kālidurga.



2 Coronation of Pallavamalla.



3 Three queens of Hiranyavarman. 4 Pallavamalla on horseback.



5 Pallava stratagem.

6 Soldiers proclaim the death of Chitramāya and Nandivarman hears reports of success.



7 A wing of the Pallava army. 8 The Pallava and the Ganga kings meet.

Photo.-Litho. Office, Survey of India.



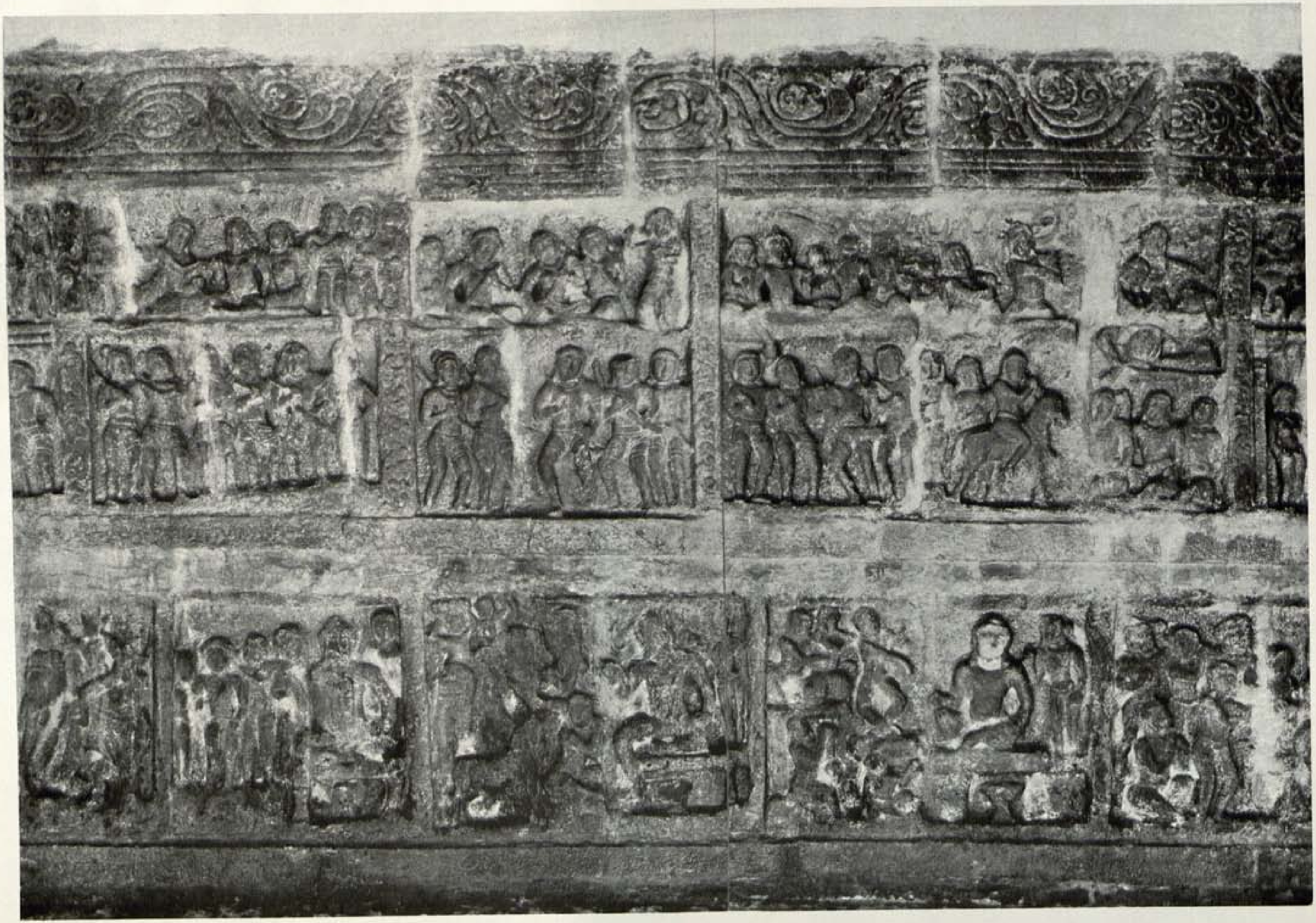
1 Asvamedha Sacrifice.



2 The king is seated under a chhatra, the elephants and horses marching.

Photo.-Litho. Office, Survey of India.

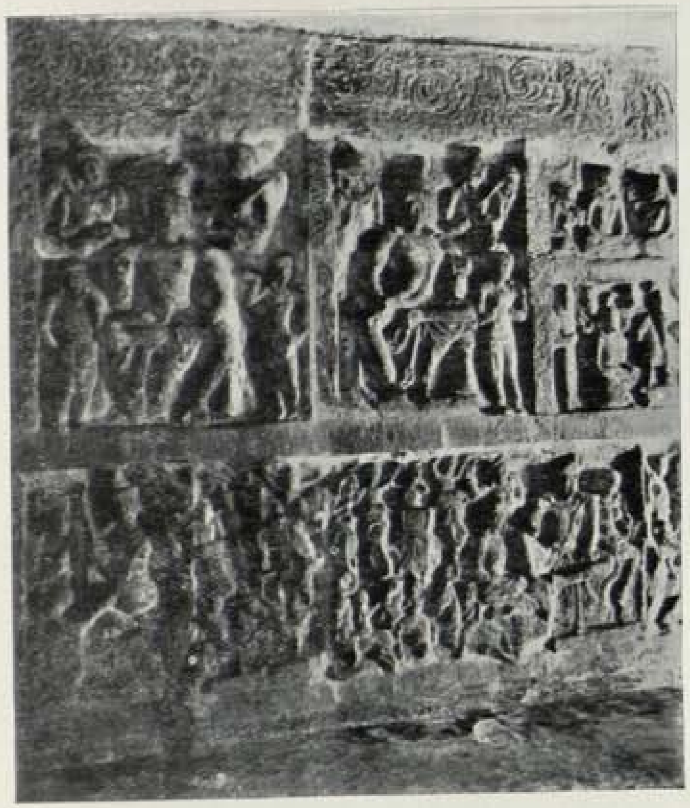
1 Submission of Pallavamalla. 2 Soldiers of Pallavamalla marching. 3 Udayachandra on horseback leading the army.



4 Pallavamalla anxious about the results of warfare. 5 Pallavamalla hearing reports of victory. 6 Pallavamalla rejoicing over his success.

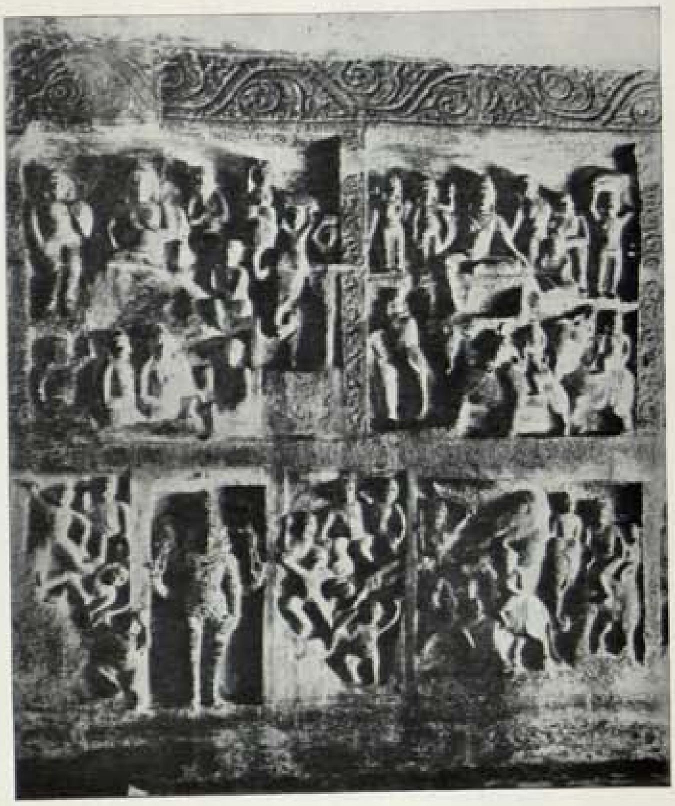
Photo.-Litho. Office, Survey of India.

1 Nandivarman I in his court. 2 Nandivarman I issuing commands. 3 Aśvamedha.



4 Pallavas and Chālukyas fight.

5 Feudatories paying homage to Pallavamalla.



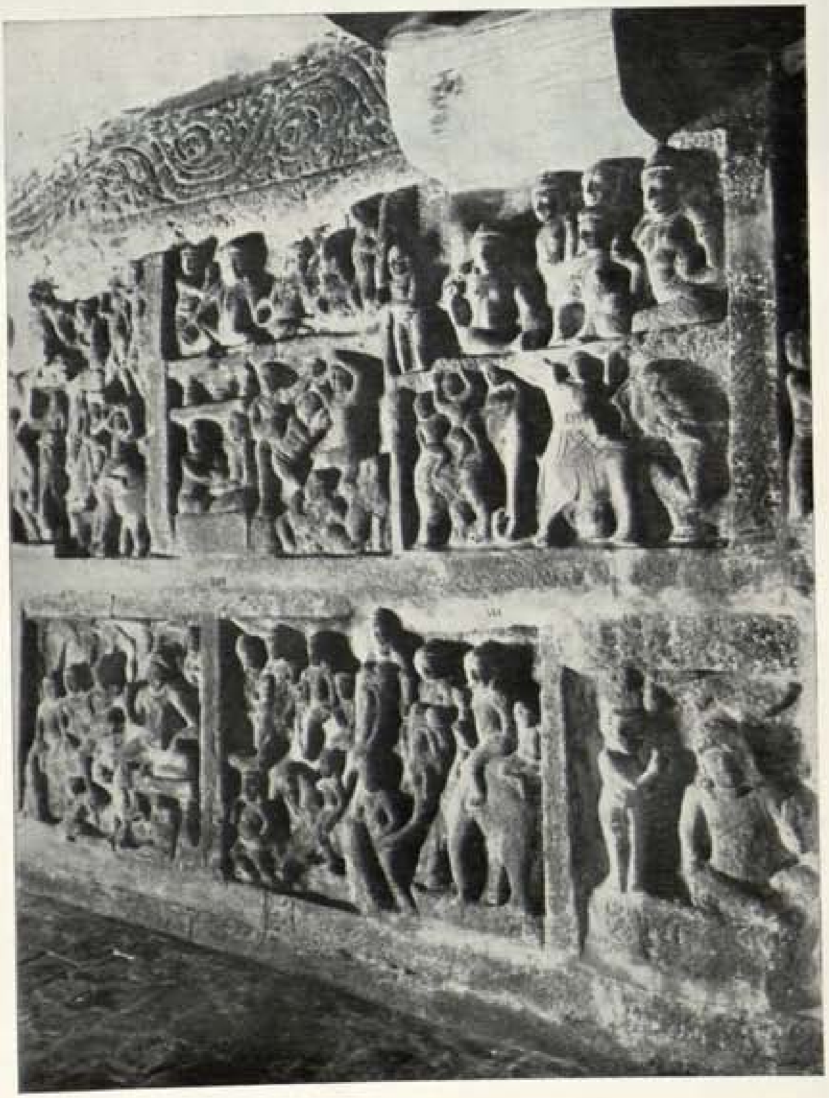
6 Miniature sculpture of Vishṇu. 7 Skirmish with the Rāshṭrakūṭas.

8 Pallava army resumes its march.



9 Miniature sculpture of Paramesvara-Viṇṇagar.

10 Events preceding warfare.

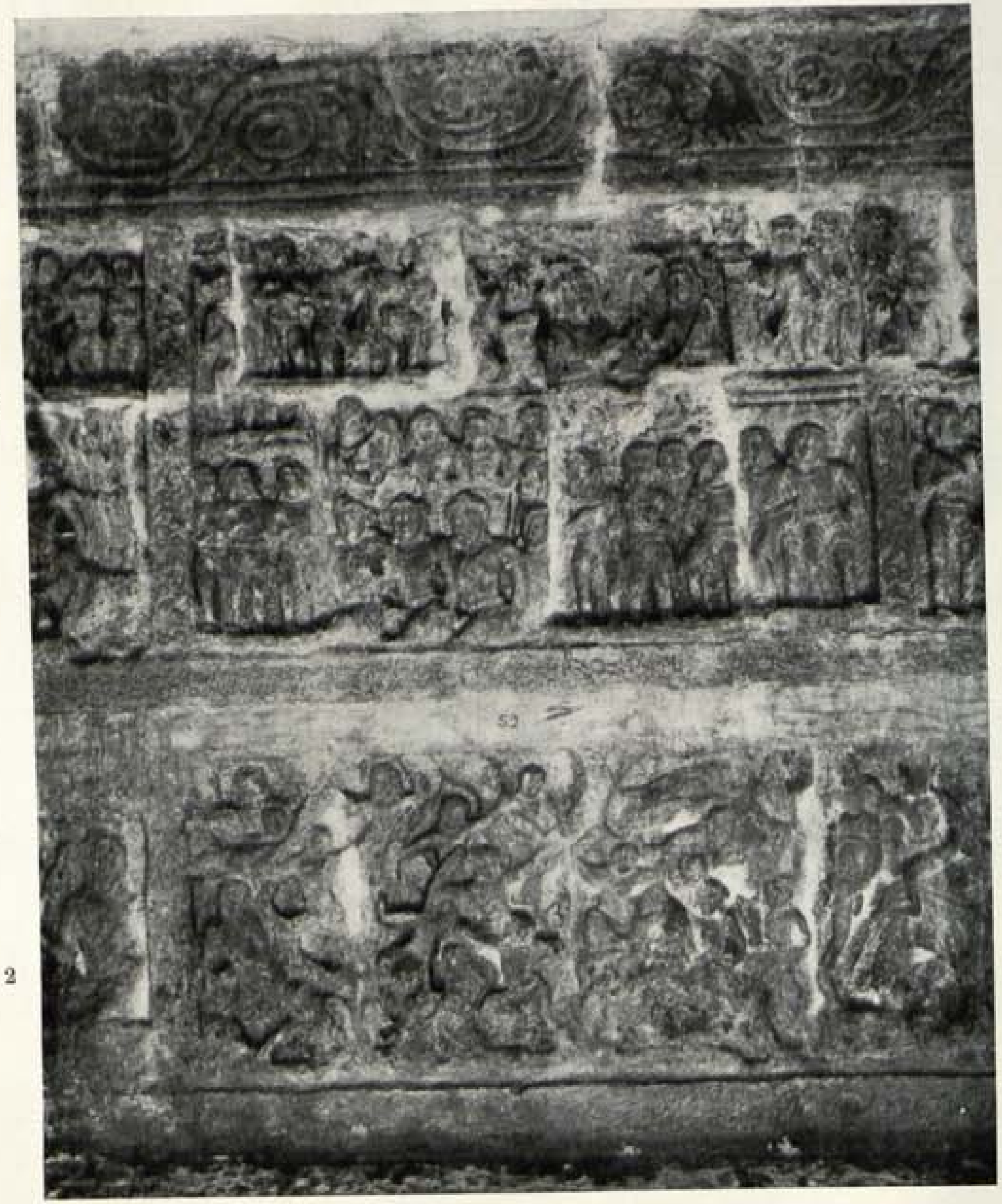


11 Consultations preceding warfare. 12 Pallava army marching to the battlefield. 13 King in dejected mood.

Photo.-Litho. Office, Survey of India.

1

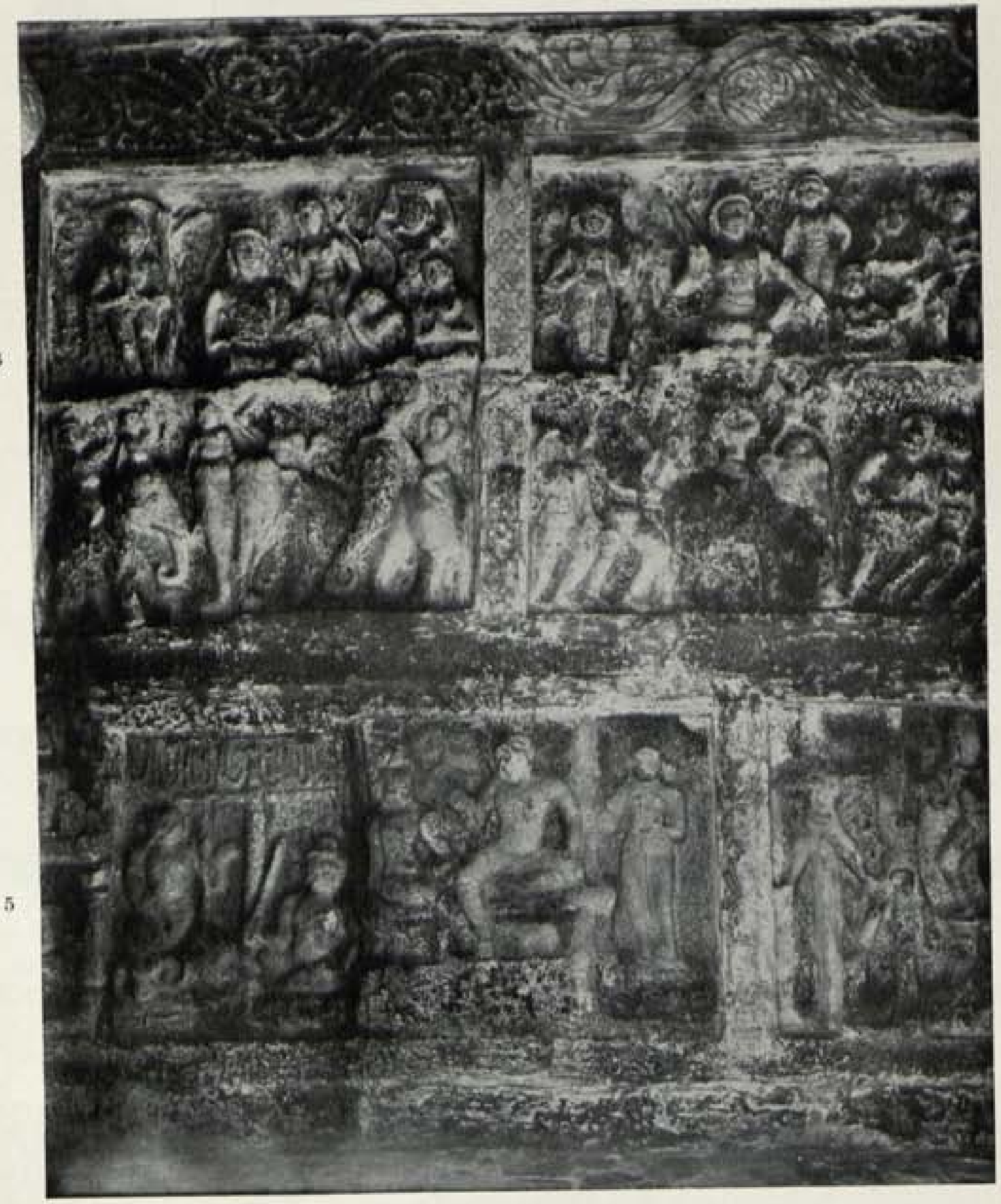
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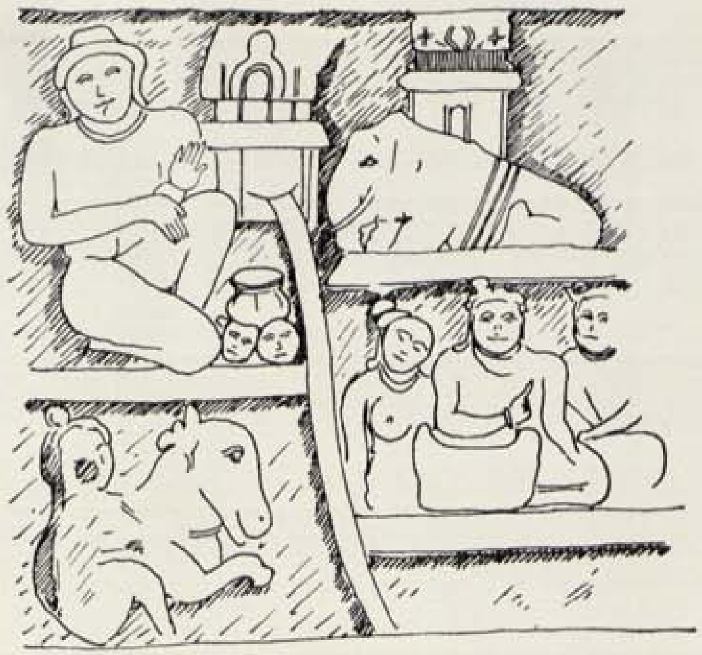
1 Ministers advice Nandivarman Pallavamalla. 2 The battle of Maṇṇaikuḍi.

3 A feudatory paying homage to Pallavamalla. 4 Pallavamalla back in Kāñchi.
5 The Dhvajastambha with the Ūrdhvapuṇḍras.

Photo.-Litho. Office. Survey of India.



(a) Dancing and wrestling.



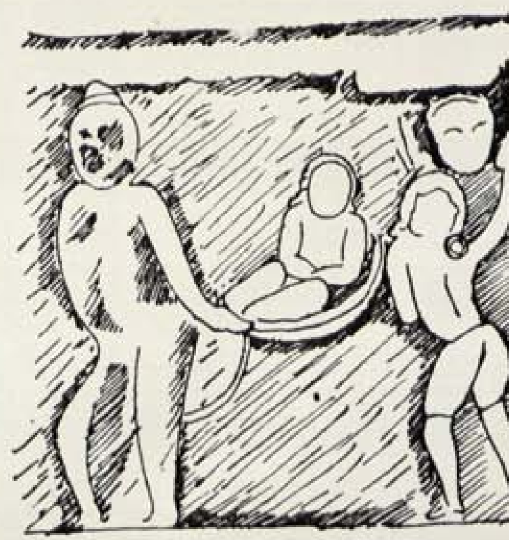
(b) Purushamedha.



(c) Sacred water carried for coronation.

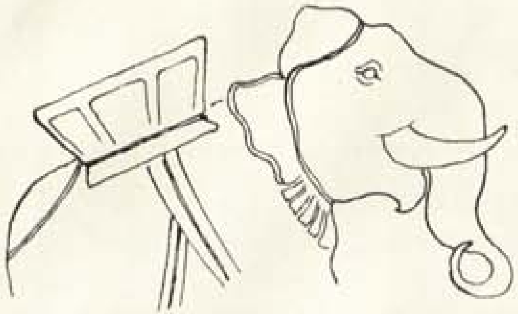


(d) Victor carried by a woman.

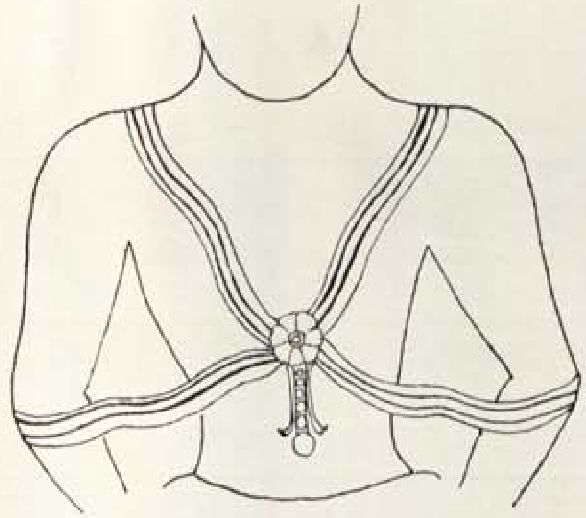


(e) Wounded soldier carried.

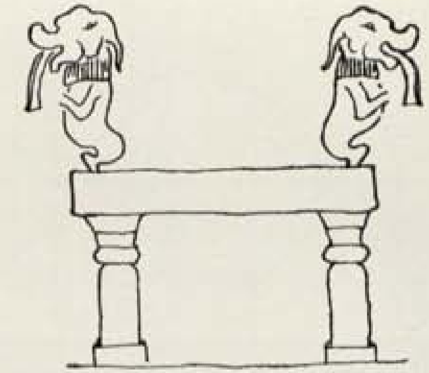
Photo.-Litho. Office, Survey of India.



(a) A royal elephant with a howda.



(b) Ubhaya-vaikakshika—the characteristic ornament worn by the Pallava kings during their coronation.



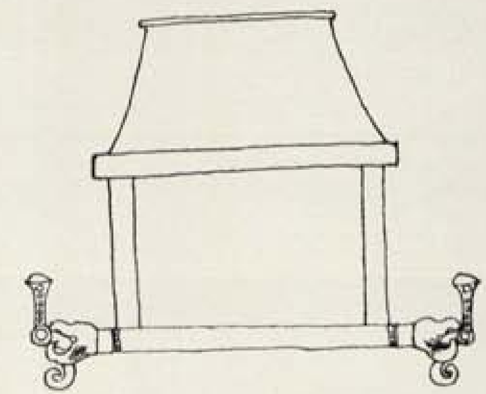
(c) Simhāsana.



(d) A typical Brahman on his way to attend a royal coronation.



(e) Bust of a Pallava king showing details of ornamentation.

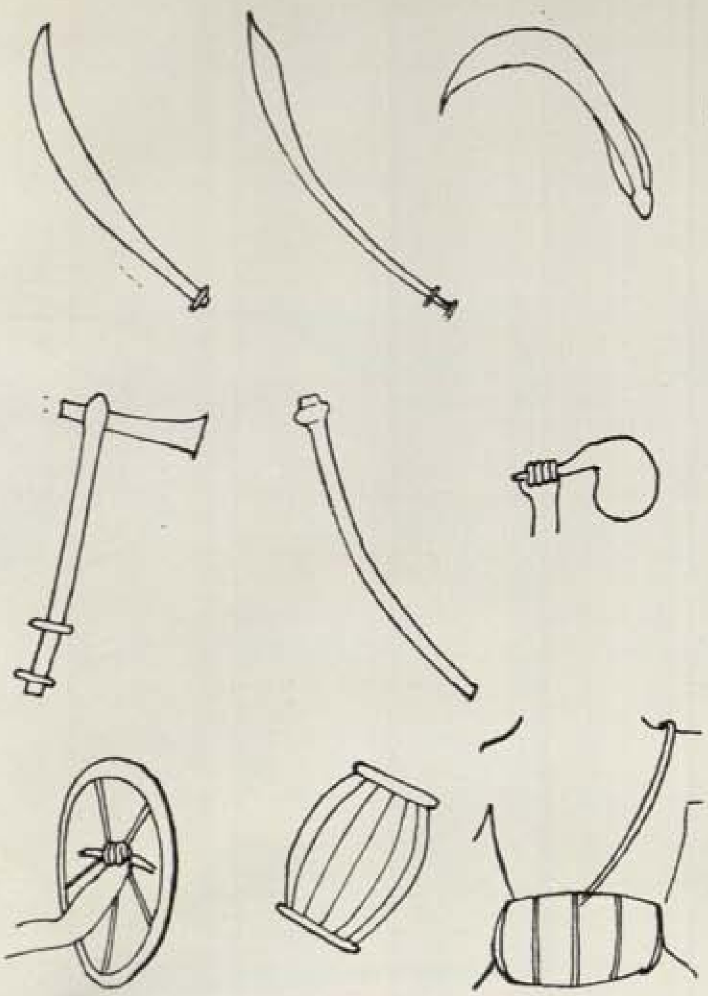


(f) Throne with the Makara motif.



(g) Bust of a royal adversary of the Pallavas.

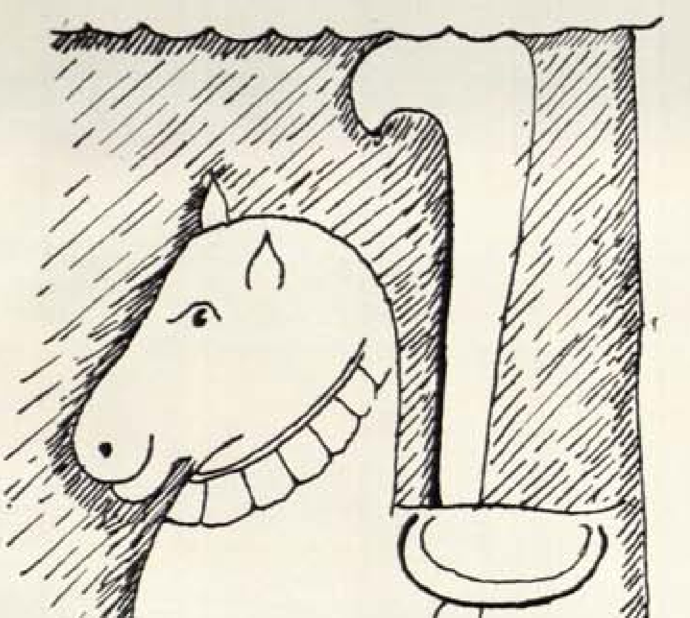
Photo.-Litho. Office, Survey of India.



(*a*) War implements and drums.



(*b*) Types of turbans.



(*c*) The Aśvamedha horse tied to the Yūpa.



(*d*) The reception of the Aśvamedha horse.

Photo.-Litho. Office, Survey of India.

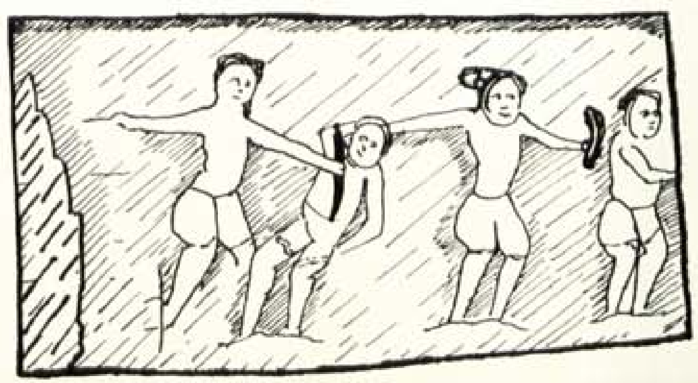
PLATE XXIV



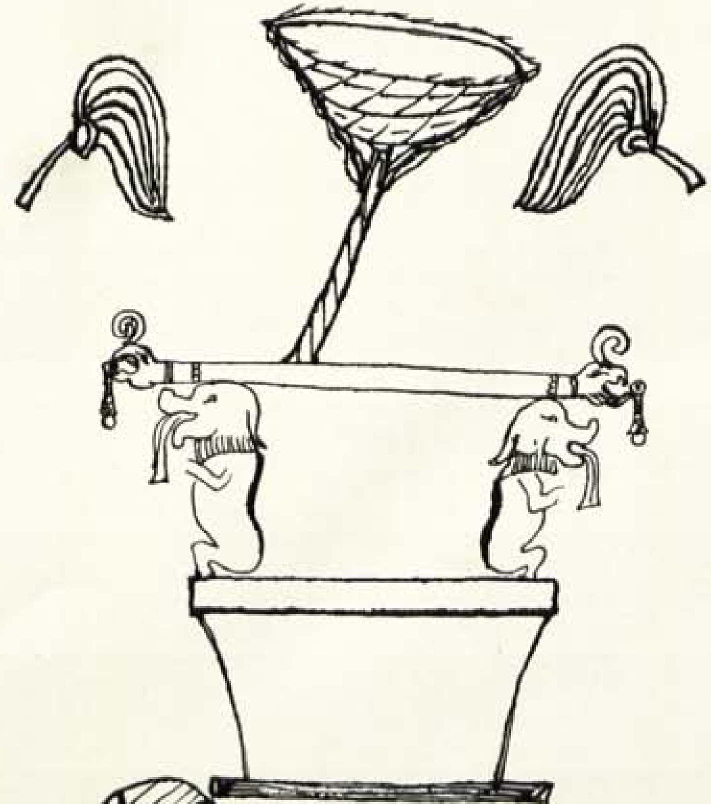
(*a*) Nandivarman 1 in worship.



(*b*) Nandivarman 1 fighting with Phanīndra.



(*c*) Chitramāya being stabbed.



(*d*) A throne with chāmaras, chhatra and foot rest.